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Ramesh Jung Thapa

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NEPAL — by Sylvain Levi

लिच्छविकाल नेपालमा गुप्तको राजनीति

शङ्करमान राजवंशी

बौद्धकालमा पाटलीपुत्र आजकालको मुजफरपुर जिल्लाको वसाढ भन्ने टाउँमा लिच्छविको शक्तिशाली गणराज्य थियो । भारतमा कुशाणले आक्रमण गर्दा विभिन्न राज्य छिन्नभिन्न भयो । कनिष्ककको पालामा प्रायः सम्पूर्ण भारतमा कुशाणको साम्राज्य जमेको थियो । यसरी कुशाणको आक्रमण हुँदा लिच्छविगणराज्य पनि छिन्नभिन्न भयो र केही लिच्छविहरूले नेपाल भित्र पसी वसोवास गरे । त्यस वखत नेपालमा किरातले राज्य गरिरहेका थिए । किरातराज्य कमजोर भएको मौकामा शकपूर्व २२ मा लिच्छवि राजा प्रथम जयदेवले किरातलाई हराई नेपालमा लिच्छवि राज्य स्थापना गरेर लिच्छविसंवत् चलाए ।

भारतमा कुशाण साम्राज्य कमजोर हुन थालेपछि भारशिव नागले गंगा यमुना प्रदेशमा कुशाणलाई अन्त गरी आफ्नो राज्य स्थापना गरे । यी भारशिव नागका सामन्त वाकाटक विन्ध्यशक्ति थिए । तिनले पाटलीपुत्रमा कुशाणलाई अन्त गरी आफ्नो राज्य स्थापना गरे । विन्ध्यशक्तिका छोरा प्रवरसेनले काठियावाद गुजरातमा कुशाणलाई अन्त गरी आफ्नो राज्यमा सम्मिलित गराए । प्रवरसेनका छोरा गौतमीपुत्रले भारशिव वंशका राजा भवनागकी छोरीसंग विवाह गरे । भवनागका छोरा नहुँदा गौतमीपुत्रका छोरा रुद्रसेन इ०सं० ३३५ मा भारशिव तथा वाकाटक दुवैको राजा भए । यसैताका गुप्तवंशले आफ्नो शक्ति फैलाउन शुरू गरे । चन्दगुप्त प्रथमले आफ्नो राज्य निकै फैलाएर महाराजाधिराजको उपाधी धारण गरे । तिनले लिच्छवि राजकुमारी कुमारदेवीसंग विवाह गरी आफ्नो टकमा चन्द्रगुप्त र कुमारदेवी दुवै नाम अंकित गरे । सायद यिनी राजकुमारी कुमारदेवी नेपालकी राजकुमारी त होइनन् भन्ने शंका कतिपय इतिहासकारले उठाएका छन् ।

हुन त भारतीय इतिहासमा गुप्तको शक्ति शुरू हुनु ताकै विहार पाटलीपुत्रमा लिच्छविगणराज्यको पुनरुत्थान भएको, तिनै लिच्छविसंग गुप्त मिली चन्द्रगुप्तले टक चलाएका हुन् भन्ने कुरा र चन्द्रगुप्त पछि चन्द्रगुप्तका छोरा समुद्रगुप्तले लिच्छविगणराज्य समेत गुप्तराज्यमा मिलाए भन्ने छ । जे होस् भारतमा गुप्त साम्राज्य खडा हुनु भन्दा धेरै वर्ष अघिदेखि नै नेपालमा लिच्छविराज्य खडा भइसकेको थियो । समुद्रगुप्तले उत्तरी भारत विजय गर्दा नेपाललाई सामन्त करदसम्म बनाए, तर नेपाललाई आफ्नो राज्यमा मिलाएनन् ।

गुप्तसाम्राज्यताका मौखरी वंशका वर्माहरू पनि गुप्तको सामन्त थिए । सायद यिनकै वंशजहरू पनि लिच्छवि पछि नेपालमा पसेका होलान् भन्ने अनुमान

हुन्छ । किनभने नेपालका लिच्छवि राजा प्रथम मानदेवले किन्नरवर्माकी छोरी गुणवतीसंग विवाह गरेका थिए भन्ने कुरा लाजिम्पाट टुकुचापारी रहेको रानी गुणवतीको लिच्छविसंवत् ४१९ (शक ३९७) इ.सं. ४७५ जेष्ठको अभिलेखमा रानी गुणवतीले आफ्नो बाबुको नाम किन्नरवर्मा भनी उल्लेख गरेबाट थाहा हुन्छ । त्यस्तै नरवर्मा भन्ने व्यक्ति राजा मानदेवको सेवक थिए भन्ने कुरा लाजिम्पाट धोबीचौरमा रहेको लिच्छविसंवत् ३८८ (शक ३६६) इ.सं. ४४४ ज्येष्ठको नरवर्माको अभिलेखमा आफूलाई मृत्यु भनी उल्लेख गरेबाट थाहा हुन्छ । मानदेवले लिच्छविसंवत् ३८६ (शक ३६४) इ.सं. ४४२ देखि लिच्छविसंवत् ४२७ (शक ४०५) इ.स. ४८३ सम्म राज्य गरेका थिए । यो कुरा चांगुको मानदेवको स्तम्भ लेख र पशुपति सूर्यघाटको मानदेवकी छोरी विजयवतीको अभिलेखबाट थाहा हुन्छ । अंशुवर्मा लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेव प्रथमका भानिज थिए । यो कुरा गोपालवंशावलीबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यसरी लिच्छवि र वर्माको सम्बन्ध मानदेवका पालादेखि देखिएको स्पष्ट छ । नेपालमा आदिवासी आभीर गोमीहरू थिए । यी गोमीहरू श्रेष्ठ अर्थात उच्च खानदानका हुनाले वर्माहरूले पनि गोमी बनी आफूलाई गोमी भनी घोषणा गर्नुमा गौरव ठाने । वर्माहरूले आफूलाई गोमी भनी उल्लेख गरेको कुरा धेरै लिच्छवि अभिलेखहरूमा पाइन्छ जुन भोगवर्मा गोमी, विप्रवर्मा गोमी, देशवर्मा गोमी चन्द्रवर्मा गोमी आदि ।

स्कन्दगुप्त (इ.सं. ४५५–४६७)का पालामै भारतमा हूणको आक्रमण शुरू भयो । तिनको पालासम्म गुप्तसाम्राज्य बलियै थियो । त्यसपछि गुप्त साम्राज्य खलबलिएर कमजोर भएको मौकामा हूणहरूको आक्रमणले गुप्तसाम्राज्य विलीन भयो । सायद यिनै गुप्तवंशीहरू नेपालमा पसेका होलान् भन्ने अनुमान हुन्छ । किनभने ठीक यसै ताका थानकोट आदि नारायण थानको लिच्छविसंवत् ४२८ (शक ४०६) इ.सं. ४८४ मार्गको वसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा दूतक याज्ञिक विरोचनगुप्त देखा परेको छ । समुद्रगुप्तले अश्वमेध यज्ञ गरेका हुनाले समुद्रगुप्त याज्ञिक जजमान थिए भन्ने स्पष्टै छ । त्यसैले विरोचनगुप्तले पनि आफूलाई याज्ञिक भन्नुमा गौरव ठाने । त्यसपछि पाटन वाहालुखाको लिच्छविसंवत् ४३५ (शक ४१३) इ.स. ४९१ पौषको बसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा दूतक रविगुप्तले सर्वदण्डनायक महाप्रतिहार भन्ने ओहदा पाइसकेको देखिएको छ । बलम्बु खाद्याँको वसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा थुल्लगुप्त शुभगुप्त देखा परेका छन् । बलम्बु चौकीटारको लिच्छविसंवत् ४५४ (शक ४३२) इ.सं ५१२ ज्येष्ठको वसन्तदेवको अभिलेखमा भवगुप्तले प्रतिहार भन्ने ओहदा पाएको देखिएको छ । चापागाउँको अभिलेखमा कुवेरगुप्त अनीकगुप्त देखापरेका छन् ।

यसपछि यी गुप्त कुनै प्रकारले मारिएको बुझिन्छ । किनभने पशुपति भस्मेश्वरको लिच्छविसंवत् ४५५ (शक ४३३) इ.सं. ५१२ चैत्रको ध्रुवसङ्गको अभिलेखमा भद्रेश्वर, नाथेश्वर, शुभेश्वर, स्थितेश्वर गरी एकै चोटि पाँच ओटा शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गरेको देखिएको छ । यी शिवलिङ्गमा रवीश्वर रविगुप्तको नाउँमा र शुभेश्वर शुभगुप्तको नाउँमा स्थापना गरेको बुझिन्छ । यसपछि रविगुप्त भवगुप्तको नाम पनि अभिलेखमा नपाइनु र यहाँ एकै चोटि पाँच ओटा शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गरेको देखिदा अवश्य नै यी पाँच जना गुप्त एकै चोटि मरेका हुन् भन्ने बुझिन्छ । यसरी एकैचोटि पाँच जना मर्नु कुनै कालगतिबाट मर्नु संभव छैन । यस घटनामा वर्माहरूको प्रयोग भएको जस्तो बुझिन्छ । किनभने वर्माहरूको राजदरबारमा भएको आफ्नो प्रभुत्व गुप्तले ओगटेको कुरा वर्माहरूले सहन सक्ने कुरा थिएन ।

परमाभिमानी गुप्तका छोरा अनुपरमगुप्तले आभीरी गोमिनीसंग विवाह गरेका थिए । यी आभीरी गोमिनीले स्वर्गीय आपना पति अनुपरम गुप्तको नाममा पशुपति चौसट्ठी लिङ्ग मुनि लिच्छविसंवत् ४६२ (शक ४४०) इ.सं ५१८ ज्येष्ठमा अनुपरमेश्वर शिवलिङ्ग स्थापना गरेकी थिइन् । यो कुरा सोही शिवलिङ्गको पाद पीठमा कुदिएको अभिलेखले थाहा हुन्छ ।

यी अनुपरम गुप्तका दाज्यू मानगुप्तले आफूलाई

गोमी भनी घोषणा गरेका थिए भन्ने कुरा थानकोटको अंशुवर्मासंवत् ५७ (शक ५३१) इ.सं. ६०९ कार्तिकको भीमार्जुनदेव जिष्णुगुप्तको अभिलेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तले हाम्रा जेठा वराज्यू मानगुप्त गोमीले बनाएको कीर्ति गोमीपोखरी घेरै कालसम्म रहोस् भनी व्यवस्था गरिदिइयो भन्ने उल्लेख भएबाट थाहा हुन्छ। तर यी मानगुप्त बाहेक अरू कुनै गुप्तहरूले अघिलाई गोमी भनी घोषणा गरेका छैनन्। राजदरबारमा गुप्तको अस्तित्व कायम गर्न मानगुप्तले आफू गोमी बन्ने नीति लिए। राजदरबारमा बुसेर लिच्छवि राजा गणदेवका पालामा यी मानगुप्तका भतिजा भौमगुप्तले पुनः अधिकार जमाए। यी भौमगुप्तले लिच्छवि-संवत् ४७९ (शक ४५७) इ.सं. ५३५ वैशाखमा महाप्रतिहार महासर्वदण्डनायक भन्ने ओहदा समेत पाए। यो कुरा फर्पिङको गणदेवको अभिलोपबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ। यी भौमगुप्तले वभ्रुवर्मालाई हटाए लिएका थिए। यी भौमगुप्तको प्रभुत्व क्रमशः बढ्दै तीनवर्षबादमा भौमगुप्तले राजोचित श्री को पद समेत पाए। अनि भौमगुप्तले आफ्नो दूतकमा वभ्रुवर्मा र प्रसादगुप्तलाई नियुक्त गरे। यो कुरा बलम्बु चौकीटारको लिच्छविसंवत् ४८२ (शक ४६०) इ.सं. ५३८ श्रावणको गणदेव भौमगुप्तको अभिलेखबाट ज्ञात हुन्छ।

लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेवको पालामा गएर शिवदेव र अंशुवर्मा मिली गुप्तलाई पतन गरिदिए। त्यस पछि अंशुवर्माको ठूलो जगजगी भयो। अंशुवर्मसंवत् ४५ (शक ५१९) इ.सं. ५९७ मा अंशुवर्माको मृत्यु भयो। अंशुवर्माको अवसान पछि फेरि गुप्तहरूले टाउको उठाउने मौका पाए। अंशुवर्माको मृत्युको ३ वर्षबाद भौमगुप्तका नाति जिष्णुगुप्तले शिवदेवका छोरा लिच्छवि उदयदेवलाई हटाई लिच्छवि ध्रुवदेवलाई गद्दीमा राखी शासनमा आफनो हक बाँदी गरी शासनको अधिकार पुनः हत्याए। यो कुरा पाटन छिन्नमस्ताको अंशुवर्मसंवत् ४८ (शक ५२२) इ.सं. ६०० कार्तिकको ध्रुवदेव जिष्णुगुप्तको अभिलेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तलाई लगाइएको विशेषणले थाहा हुन्छ। जस्तै—

'निरस्तमात्सर्य विशुद्ध बुद्धिः प्रजा हितैषी निरवद्य वृत्तः पुण्यान्वया दागतराज्यसम्पत् समस्त पौराचित शासनो यस्स कैलासकूटभवनाद्भगवत्पशुपतिभट्टारक पादानुगृहीतो बप्प पादानु ध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः कुशली"

[मात्सर्य हटिसकेका हुनाले सफा बुद्धि भएका, प्रजाको हित चाहने, निखुरी चरित्र भएका, शुद्ध कुलक्रमले राज्य गर्ने अधिकार पाएका, सारा शहरियाहरूले हुकुम तामेल गरिएका, भगवान् पशुपतिनाथका पाउको अनुग्रह पाएका बप्प (बुबा) को पाउको अनुग्रह पाएका, गाथमा आराम रहेका श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तले कैलासकूट भवन (दरबार) बाट]

(धनवज्रको लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख ४०१ पृष्ठ)

यी जिष्णुगुप्तले राज्यको शासन गुप्तवंशमा राखी क्रमशः लिच्छविलाई हटाउने योजनानुसार शासनको उत्तराधिकारी आफ्ना छोरा विष्णुगुप्तलाई युवराज घोषणा गरी दूतक बनाए। यो कुरा सोही छिन्नमस्ताको अभिलेखमा उल्लेख छ। यो कुरा स्वीकार नगरी केही जनताले विद्रोह गरे। तर ती विद्रोहीहरूलाई जिष्णुगुप्तले दमन गरे। यो कुरा केवलपुरको ध्रुवदेव जिष्णुगुप्तको अभिलेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तलाई लगाइएको विशेषणले संकेत गर्दछ। जस्तै—

'प्रजाहितोद्युक्त विशुद्धमानसः प्रभाव (शौर्य) प्रणतारिमण्डलः गुणैरुपेतोनुपमैरिहात्मवान् प्रिय ... ... मणि चन्द्रमा इव सोयमित्थम्भूतः कैलासकूटभवनाद् भगवत्पशुपति भट्टारकपादानुगृहीतो बप्प पादानुध्यातः श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तः कुशली'

[प्रजाको हित गर्नामा लागेको शुद्ध मन भएका, प्रभाव (कोश र दण्डद्वारा भएको शक्ति) र शुन्याईले शत्रुहरूलाई नतमस्क पारेका, वेजोड गुणहरू भएका, आत्मवत्ता (अपनो हित चिन्ने हुनु) भएका, प्यारो ... ... चन्द्रमा जस्तै (दुनियाँलाई आनन्द दिने) यस किसिमका, भगवान् पशुपतिनाथको पाउको अनुग्रह पाएका, बप्प

(बुवा)को पाउको अनुग्रह पाएका, गाथमा आराम रहेका, श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तले कैलासकूटभवन (दरबार) बाट]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख ४१४ पृष्ठ)

यसबाट केवलपुरवासी जनताले जिष्णुगुप्तको नीतिको विरोध गरेको बुझिन्छ। भक्तपुर भेगका जनताले त जिष्णुगुप्तको त्यस नीतिको निकै बिरोध गरे। त्यसका लागि जिष्णुगुप्तले ती बिरोधीहरूसंग सख्त मुकाबिला समेत गर्नु पर्ने खण्ड पर्न गएको थियो भन्ने कुरा अंशुवर्माको भाइबुहारीले राखेको भ.पु.इ, नीलवाराहीको अभिलेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तलाई लगाइएको विशेषणले थाहा हुन्छ। जस्तै–

'याप्रिङ्ग्रामे स्थितवति रिपून्मूलनादीक्षितेच्छे
कोशर्म्फैन्य (?)– भास्वद् गुणगणवति क्षमापतौ
जिष्णुगुप्ते।'

[याप्रिङ् ग्राममा बसेका शत्रुलाई सखाप पार्नाले मनसाय प्रकट भएका–……

ठूलठूला गुणहरू भएका जिष्णुजुप्तल शासन गरिरहनु भएको बेलामा……]

(लिच्छविकालमा अभिलख ४३१–४३२ पृष्ठ)

यसरी गुप्तको विरोध जनतामा भैरहेको हुनाले ध्रुवदेव पछि उनका नातेदार भीमार्जुनदेवलाई गद्दीमा राखी जिष्णुगुप्तले शासन चलाए। तर राजा भनी आफूलाई घोषणा गर्न सकेका थिएनन्। जब विरोधीलाई सखाप पारेथे अनि जिष्णुगुप्तले राजा भई आफ्नो नाउँमा टक समेत चलाए। उक्त नीलवाराहीको अभिलेखमा जिष्णुगुप्तलाई क्षमापतौ भनी उल्लेख गरेबाट जिष्णुगुप्त राजा भएथे भन्ने कुरा स्पष्ट छ। जिष्णुगुप्तका छोरा विष्णुगुप्तले पनि चाँगुमा राखेको आफ्नो अभिलेखमा आफ्ना बाबु जिष्णुगुप्तलाई 'राज्ञे श्रीजिष्णुगुप्तक्षितितलशशिने' भनी स्पष्टैसंग राजा भनेर उल्लेख गरेका छन्।

जिष्णुगुप्तको टकमा एकापट्टि घोडा र अर्कापट्टि वज्र अंकित छन्। यहाँ वज्रले शत्रुदमनलाई लक्ष्य गरेको छ। इन्द्रले वज्रद्वारा वृत्रासुर दमन गरेथे। त्यस्तै जिष्णुगुप्तले विरोधी शत्रुलाई बलजफतसंग दमन गरेथे। वज्र भनेको बलको प्रचूरमात्राको द्योतक हो। घोडाले समुद्रगुप्त जस्तै याज्ञिकलाई लक्ष्य गरेको छ। समुद्रगुप्तले अश्वमेध यज्ञ गरेको कुरामा गौरव मानी आफूलाई समुद्रगुप्तका वंशज याज्ञिक हुँ भन्ने यी गुप्तामा अभिमान छ। पशुपतिको आभीरीको अभिलेखमा आभीरीले आपना पतिअनुपरम गुप्तको बाबु (आभीरीको शशुरा) लाई परमाभिमानी भनेका छन्। हुन पनि यी गुप्तहरूमा हामी राजा हुने खालका हौं राजा मान्ने खालका होइनौं भन्ने पुरापूर अभिमान छ। त्यो अभिमानलाई जिष्णुगुप्तले आफूलाई 'नरपतिगुणसम्पद् भूषितो' भनी स्पष्ट गरी देखाई दिएको छ।

यी जिष्णुगुप्तका वराज्यू मानगुप्तले आफूलाई गोमी भनेको र मानगुप्तका अनुपरम गुप्तले आभीरी गोमिनी स्वास्नी राखेको हुनाले यी गुप्तहरू आभीर गोमी गुप्त हुन् भन्ने कुरा धेरैको धारणा छ। यसका लागि गोमी र गुप्तको शील स्वभावमा कत्तिको मेल खान्छ भनी तुलना गरी हेर्नु आवश्यक हुनाले त्यसको तुलना गरिन्छ।

अंशुवर्माले लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेवलाई टेवा दिई लिच्छवि वंशकै प्रभुत्व स्थापना गर्न गुप्तहरूसंग क्रान्ति गरेथे। आपनो हातमा शासनको पुरापूर अधिकार आएर पनि लिच्छवि राजा बस्ने मानगृह दरबारको मर्यादा राख्न अंशुवर्माले कहिल्यै छोडेनन्। यी अंशुवर्माले लिच्छवि राजा शिवदेवकै छोरा उदयदेवलाई राज्यको उत्तराधिकारी युवराज घोषणा गरे। अंशुवर्माले शिलालेख राख्दा पनि (अंशुवर्मणा विज्ञापितेन सता मया = अंशुवर्माले हाम्रा हजूरमा विन्ति चढाउँदा हामीबाट) भन्ने उल्लेख गराई लिच्छवि राजाको मर्यादा राखेका छन्। टक छाप्दा पनि अंशुवर्माले लिच्छविको अधिकारको चिन्ह समेत टकमा अंकित गरेका छन्। यसबाट अंशुवर्मामा गद्दीका राजाप्रति इमानदारी स्पष्ट झल्कन्छ।

यी अंशुवर्मा स्वयं पशुपतिभट्टारक शैवधर्मावलम्बी भए तापनि वैष्णवधर्ममा पनि उत्तिकै उनी आदर गर्दथे भन्ने कुरा चाँगुको कवच जीर्णोद्धार गरिदिएको सोही कवचमा रहेको उनको अभिलेखबाट थाहा हुन्छ । त्यस्तै उनी बौद्धधर्ममा पनि उत्तिकै आदर गर्दथे भन्ने कुरा गुंविहार, श्रीमानविहार, श्रीराजविहार, खर्जूरिकाविहार, मध्यमविहार, सामान्यविहारहरूको व्यवस्था गरिदिएको हाडिगाउँको थटोल डबलीको अंशुवर्माको अभिलेखबाट थाहा हुन्छ । यसबाट अंशुवर्माका पालामा बौद्धधर्मले पनि निकै प्रश्रय पाएका थिए भन्ने स्पष्ट झल्कन्छ । अंशुवर्मा जनताको पनि उत्तिकै हित चाहन्थे भन्ने कुरा पाञ्चालीव्यवस्था बाँधेको उनको अभिलेखहरूमा (सम्यक्प्रजापालनपरिश्रमोपार्जितशुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिङ्मण्डलेन = राम्ररी प्रजाको हेरचाह गर्नाले आर्जेको सफा कीर्तिले दिशाको छेउछाउ ढाकेका) भन्ने उल्लेख भएबाट थाहा हुन्छ ।

अब जिष्णुगुप्तले उदयदेवलाई हटाएर उदयदेवको टाउँमा ध्रुवदेवलाई गद्दीमा राखी (श्री ध्रुवदेव सहितो···· श्री जिष्णुगुप्तः = ध्रुवदेवका साथमा रहने श्री जिष्णुगुप्त) भनी उल्लेख गरेका छन् । यसबाट जिष्णुगुप्तले आफूलाई राजा सरह हुँ भन्ने भाव झल्काएका छन् । 'पुण्यान्वयादागतराज्यसम्पत्' शुद्ध कुलक्रमले राज्य गर्ने अधिकार पाएका भनी जिष्णुगुप्तले आफूलाई विशेषण लगाई शासनको हक दावी गरेको कुरा पनि देखाएका छन् । (समस्त पौरोचित शासनो = सारा शहरियाहरूले हुकूम तामेल गरिएका) भनी उल्लेख गरेबाट शहरियाहरूलाई आफ्नो ऐंचमा राखेको भन्ने भाव झल्काइएको छ । साथै जिष्णुगुप्तले विरोध गर्ने जनतालाई सन्ताप पनि पारेका छन् । यिनले टक छाप्दा पनि आफ्नै एकलौटी टक छाप्नएका छन् । लिच्छविको मर्यादा स्वरूप 'देव' पद पनि लिएका छन् ।

यी जिष्णुगुप्तका वराज्यू अनुपरमगुप्त कट्टर वैदिक थिए । तिनले हाडिगाउँ सत्यनारायणस्थानमा राखेको शिलालेखमा बौद्धमार्गीलाई प्रशस्त निन्दा गाली गरेका छन् । जस्तै—

'निराकृता कुमतिभिरंहसावृतैः कुतार्किकैः कथमपि सौगतादिभिः
(त्रयी)···· ज (ग) तो हिताय सुकृते ह भारते भुवि
वाङ्मयं सकलमेव दर्शितम्'

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख १६० पृष्ठ)

[नास्तिक कुतार्किक मूर्ख कुमति बौद्धहरूले वैदिक धर्मलाई हटाएथे· · · · संसारको कल्याणको लागि भारत भूमिमा संपूर्ण वैदिक वाङ्मयलाई देखाइयो ।]

यसबाट यी अनुपरमगुप्त भारतीय पक्षेपाती वैदिक गुप्त हुन् भन्ने स्पष्ट छ । यी अनुपरमगुप्तका छोरा भीमगुप्त (जिष्णुगुप्तका बाजे) ले जग्गा गुठी पनि हरण गरेका थिए भन्ने कुरा लिच्छवि राजा नरेन्द्रदेवले यङ्गालहिटीको आफ्नो अभिलेखमा उल्लेख गरिदिएका छन् । जस्तै—

'केनापि च हेतुना श्रीभूमगुप्तेनाक्षिप्तं राजकुलभोग्यमभूत् तदिदमधुना पूर्वमर्यादास्थितिप्रवर्तनाहतमनोभिः सततञ्च प्रजानां श्रेयसे स्यैव सर्वतलग्रामसहितस्य दक्षिणकोलीग्रामद्वङ्गस्य तदेव भुवनेश्वर देवकुलं'

[कुनै कारणवश श्रीभूमगुप्तबाट हरिदा सरकारद्वारा आफै चलाइने गरिराखेकोमा पहिलेदेखि चलेर आएका रीति स्थितिहरू साविक बमोजिम चलून् भनी चाहेर हामीबाट अहिले प्रजाको कल्याणको लागि सबै तल र ग्राम सहित भएको दक्षिणकोलीग्रामद्वङ्गलाई नै सो भुवनेश्वर देवमन्दिर सुम्पिएको छ ।]

(लिच्छविकालका अभिलेख ४६४–६५ पृष्ठ)

यसरी गोमी र गुप्तको शीलस्वभावमा आकाश–पाताल फरक देखिनाले यी गुप्तहरू याज्ञिक जजमान परमाभिमानी गुप्त हुन् आभीरगोमी गुप्त होइनन् भन्ने थाहा हुन्छ । किनभने मानगुप्तवाहेक अरूले आफूलाई गोमी भन्न चाहेका छैनन् । मानगुप्तले आफूलाई गोमी भन्नाको मतलब दरबारमा घुसेर अधिकार जमाउने उनको राजनीति दाउ हो भन्ने स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।

ऐतिहासिक पत्रस्तम्भ

नरसिंहसाहिले लेख्याको चिठि विजिनिस्उतार— ——

उप्रान्त लखनौको र अंत जगाजगाको पाया सुन्याको समाचार लेषि पठाउनु भनि मर्जि भयाको गजुदिहैं दरनवाफ अमिन् हुदा बिलकुल अख्तियार आगामिरलाई तुल्याई नवावि दियाको थियो तेसैले आसक्दौलानवाबका पालादेषि वढोको पुरानु राष्याको जो दौलथ थियो त्यो र केहिपछिको स्मेत गरि भारि माल असवाव आफ्ना कायमगरि केही आफु छेउ राख्यो केहि अंत साऱ्यो भन्या एसैवातको षल स हुन जादा नवाव गजुदिहैदरकि बेगम्नेर. एसैको छोरा नवाव नसरदहैदरले सल्लाह गरि पुरानु अधिदेखि राष्याको दौलथ एसले विछुत पाऱ्यो हाम्रा कायममा पनि रहन्या भएन अव र एस्को वदला निर्जाहकिमलाई अष्तियार गरि राषन्याहो भनि टहराई फर्कावादवाट छिकाई आगमिरको वदला मुक्त्यार तुल्याया आगामिर भन्या उसै वषतमा लषनौमा वरन्या वडा साहेव संगगै वस्यो र यो त हाम्रो मानिस हो एसले निमकहरामिगरि आयाको छ । हाम्रो मानिस देउ भनि वढि वेगम नवाफवाट मिर्जा हकिमलाई उसै वडासाहेव छेउ आगामीरलाई लिन पठाउदा आफूले गऱ्याका कारोवारको फारक लियाको मोहोर देखाउदा फारकत भयाको थिएन । कसले फारक गरिदियाको हो भनी सोध्दा निदान मोहोरको छाप राषन्या मानिस संग मिलि आर्फले गऱ्याको टहऱ्यो तपनि लषनौबाट भागी हामी छेउ फर्कावाद गयाको थिइस तेस्तै गरि पनि यो हामी छेउ आयो भनि वडासाहेवले भन्दा यस को र तेस्को घेरै फरकछ । आगामीर त हाम्रो पुनि गुलाम हो भन्दा आगामिरको जिउ मार्ने सौपन लाग्यो अरू असवाव कविला आफु छेउ राष्यो तेसै वष्तमा स हुवले आफ्ना असपासका पलटनवाई नजिक राषि सावधान भयो नवावले पनि दौलत असबाव र आफ्नु गुलाम समेत लिउला आफनु गुलाम असवाव पाइयेन भन्या जगापनि हाम्रो ठहरिएन भनि आगामिरलाई लियेन वलले लिनसकेन असवावकविलाकार्थ दिन्या होकि भनि— सदर कौसलमा साधौला र जो हुकुम आउला सो वामगरौला भनि लखनौको वडासाहेवले जवावदिया भित्रसंच आगामीरलाई असबावस्मेत कानपूर पठइदियो वडोलाट गवरनल र सदर अमिन २ जना कानपूर गयाछन्. नवाव नसरदहैदर पनि कानपुर साहेवानसंग मिलाप गर्न गयका छन् । आगमिरका कुरा पनि तांहि हुन्छन् जंगीलाठपनि आहावाट साजविहानमा पश्चिमतरफ जान्छ. लाठगवरनल पनि पश्चिमै तरफ जान्छ लाठगवरनल पनि पश्चिमै जान्छन् जो सदर अमिन थियातिर फर्कि आही ... मा वस्न्या गरि आउछन् । कलकत्ता टाढा पऱ्यो पनि धानफिऱ्याद गर्न्या कौशलको जगा आहि ठहर्छ भनि भन्छन् । अगामीरका निमित्त २ थरका मनमा कसरै जस्तो छ क्या हुन्छ पछि पायाको षवर लि विन्ति गरौला माघशुदि २ रोज १ शुभम्— — — — — — — — —

अजि

उप्रान्त साहेव मनिराम पाठक भन्या आजकाल अल्मोढाबाट नैनताल जान तयार भयाका थिया भाइलाइ

लाहूर पठायाको छ म पनी त्याहाँ आयाका काममा लागिरह्याकै छु भन्या कुरा गर्‍या छन् साहेव पश्चिम तर-फको षवर भन्या आजकाल अकवर षां सित अंग्रेजहरूको तरकार भैरहेछ राजे गुलाव सिं पनी आफ्ना फौज समेत पिशौरका नगिचमा छन्. लाहूरमा षारिज भयाका सिष सिपाहिहरू पनी कोहि पहिले राजे गुलाव सिंसित जंबुमा गइ भर्त्ति भयाथ्या पछि अरू सिषहरू अकवरषांसित गइ कसं करार गरि भर्ति भयाका छन् जङ्को मन्सुवा पनि गरि राष्या छन् भन्या कुरो सुनिन्छ हाल एतिकै सुनीयाको छ पिछ जो सुनियेला सो षवर लेषि चह्राइ पठा-उन्या काम गरौंला ज्यादा काहां तक् लेषि विन्ति गरौं साहेब सर्वज्ञ विवेक सागर हुनुहुन्छ विज्ञवर्येष्वलमति विस्तरेण मिति ज्येष्ठ वदि १४ रोज ५ शुभम्

सदा शुभचिन्तक गरीप ब्राम्हण काशीदत्त पंडित-को चतुर्वेदोक्त शुभाशीर्वाद सहस्रकोटि- — — —

वलिराम पनेरू हरिदत्त अैरका जमानि लष्याको— —

श्रावन लाग्या संक्रांतिमा त्याहाबाट गया थ्युं गयाको १५ दिन्मा वरेलि पुग्युं वरेलिदेषि ३ दिनमा मुरादावाद पुग्युं मुरादावाददेषि ८ दिनमा दिल्ली पुग्युं जमुनाको किनारा मशिद भन्याको जगामा डेरा गर्‍युं १ रात वसि दिल्लि देषि ७ दिनमा हांसि भन्याको जगामा पुग्युं वाहां फिरंगिको छाउनि रहेंछ ठुलो सिकंदर भन्याको २ फरीजंसाहेव १ कर्नेल १ चार साहेव छन् भंय्या पलटं भन्या रजवं १ कालोपलटं १ रहेछ छाउनिमा राष्याको तोप ११ थियो गारद वस्याको जगादेषी भीत्र तोप कति थीयो यो जानि भित्र जान दियन वाहदेषी येक दीनमा हसोर पुग्युं वाहा उकिन साहेव ७ तोप येक पलटं लीवस्याको रहेछ हसोर देषि २ दीन्मा फत्तेवाज भन्या जाटको मुलुक रहेछ सो जगा अंगरेजको अमल भयाको पाच वर्ष भयेछ कालापलटं २ तोप ७ लि हालन साहेव भन्याको वाहा वस्याको रहेछ अंगरेजको अमल वाहीसम्म रहेछ फतेवाजदेषि ७ दिन्मा मिरापुर भन्याको जगा भर्ता-सिजाट राजा रहेछ वाहाँ पुग्या राजाको दर्वार भन्या राम सहर भन्याको मीरापुरदेषी दषिन २ कोसमा रहेछ यो राजा कत्रो छ भनि सोद्धा २ लाषको मुलुक छ भनि वनिज्या वजारीले भंय्या मीरापुरदेषी सात कोस गै सतरुद्राको षैरातिघाट तर्‍युं वाहादेषी भावलपुरको अमल लाग्दो रहेछ सतरूद्रादेषी वकान सहरको वाटो गरी ३ दिनमा व्यास गंगामा पुग्यं जलंधर घाट तरी कृष्णगढ भन्याको सहर रहेछ सो वाटो गरी ४ दीन्मा भावलपुरमा पुग्युं श्रीमतषांनवाव रहेछ जातको ज्वलाहा हो भदा रह्या-छन् उसका सिपाहि मुसलवान सावार हजार २ रहेछ फेरंगिको भन्या वाड्डा कोहि गयाको रहेनछ देवान आमद लिषाँको भतिजा वकिल भै दिल्लिमा अंगरेजछेउ गयाको छ भंय्या सिषसित येस्का कस्तो छ भनि सोद्धा भावलपुर मुलतानका विचमा सुलतान भन्याको सानु जगा मुसलवान राजा वयाको जगाथीयो मुलतान लियाको दोश्रो सालमा रणजीतसिले मुलतान पनि लियोथ्यो येस पाला गयाको जेठमा रणजीतसिले मोतिसि साहेवसि २ सर्दार २ पलट पठाई मुलतानको जीतपुरमा आई नवाप श्री-मत्षा छेउ हामिलाई मांछस् भन्या साल वंदी कवोल गर माँदिन भंछस् भन्या लडाइ गर्न तयार हो हामि पनि चढि आउंछौ भनि सकति गरी यो कुरा गर्दा भावल पुग्याले आफ्नु देवान आमदलिषालाइ पठाई साल वसाल १३।१३ हजारदिनु भन्या कवोल गर्दा साहेवसि मोतिसिले जितपुरमा छाउनि मात्र राषि आफु फिरी लाहोर गया भनि वजारी वनेयाले भंय्या नवापका सिपाही सवार संग सोद्धा हामीले पैसाकाहा कवोल्याको छ भनि सिषलाई गाली गर्‍यां तेस पटिका छोरा वडानवाप राजा जो रहया-छन् डरसिषको मांदा रहयाछन् पेट्ले भन्या फेरंगि आया वढिया हुदोहो भनि सवै काम नमा रहेछ भावलपूरबाट फिर्दा जौनावाटो गयाथ्युं सोहि वाटो फिर्युं किल्लागढमा आउदा आजकाल रणजीतसि काहा छ भनि सोद्धा निग-लदोमदोमा— — —श्रीज्वालाजीको दर्सन गर्न गयाको वाहि छ फिर्याको छैन जगा जगाको कुहुवा वाहीक भारी फौज आजकाल लाहोरमा छ भंय्या फत्तेवाज हांसि-मा हामि आई पुग्दा जगा जगामा षवर सोध्दा अंगरेजको तोप वारूद गोलि असवाव आजकाल लुध्यानामा जान लाग्यो भनि भंय्या मेरट्मा आईपुग्दा पलटं भन्या आफ् गया-

का छैनन् जगा जगामा नया पलटको पनि भर्ति हुन लागी रहेछ लाहोरमा चढाई हुछ भनि सबै येहि बोलि गर्छन्– – – – – –

लाहौरकी षबरसे सालमहुवा ।। दीवान दीनानाथवास्ते लावने । दिवान मूल राजनाजूम मुलतानके । लाहोर से रवाना हुवे ।। दीवान मूलराजने । सर्कार अंगरेजीको पुश्तपनाह अपनी समझकर । सर्कार अंगरेजीका निविश्ता मंगवा लियाहै । जब आवने लाहौरका इकरार किया है ।। मिस्तर हडवरडसाहब लाहौरमे दाषिल हुवे ।. ।मेजर मिगरेगिरसाहब. अमृतसरको रवाना हुवे. और लेफटंट सिलमिस साहब. काँगडको और एक साहब जालन्धरको रवाना हुवे । । अंगरेजी अषवारसे मालूम हुवा. कश्मीरमे कुछ फसाद हुवा सूरत पे हैके. तमाम रय्यतने हुकम कश्मीरसे मुत्तफिक होकर महाराज गुलाबसिंह की. सिपाहवास्ते दषल कर्नेकश्मीरके पहाँचोथी सिपाह मजकूरको दषल नही किया । तर्फनसे मुकाबला हुवा कुछ आदमी तर्फनके मारे गए । तमाम रहने वाले । कश्मीरके राजा गुलाबसिंहको हकूमतको नही मंजूर कर्ते है. षबर हैके वास्ते दषल दिलवाने महाराज गुलाबसिंहको सिपाह अंगरेजी कश्मीरको जावेगी ।. जालन्धरकी चिठियों से मालूम हुवा मौसम जाडेमे जोके सिपाह अंगरेजी. सतलुजके उसरफहै. बदली जावेगी ।। और येह भी सुना जाताहैके 'जालन्धरमे बन्दस्तूर छावनी रहेगी' और लाहौर से फौज अंगरेजीको बिलकुल उठालिया जायगा ।। और राजा लाहुवेका । दिल्लीमें कैमुय्यद है षबर मषलसीकी सुनी जाती है ।. ।दिल्लीके बडे साहबकी तरफसे. माफिक हुकुम सदरके । बिल १५ हजारचौअसौ रूपैका बतरीक इनामके । नवाब कुछरवालेकी सिपाहके वास्ते भेजा गया । हुकुमहैके । जोसिपाह कुछरकी बिच मुहिम्म लाहौरके कार सर्कारीमे शामिल हुईथी । येह रूपया उस सिपाहको मिलेगा ।. लाहौरकी षबरसे मालूम हुवा । जो सिपाह सिष्ष लंग लडाई से भागे हुवे थे । शर्मिन्दा होकर अपनी तनष्वाह लेनेके वास्ते । लाहौरमे आया ।. बयूजिब तजवीज साहब हजट बहादुरके ९७ हजार रूपैकी बंब कश्मीरा सिंहके लवाहकोको और ६ हजार रूपैकी जागीर कंवर पेशौरा सिंहके वास्ते तजवीज हुई ।. राजा लालसिंहने राजा भिक्षरवालेका बरावजजागीरके ५ सो– रूपै दर्माहामुकर्रिर किया राजा लालसिंहने हुकुम दियाके । मकान सादावगैरे । बरावज ९ हजार रुपैके कैवर कश्मीरासिंहके लवाहेकोंको दिये जावें ।. राजा लालसिंहने माफिक हुकुमरानीसाहबके १ लाखरूपै सालकी जागीर वास्ते सर्दार हीरसिंह भाई रानी साहबके षास षर्चमें और सिपाह षर्चमे मुकर्रि रहुई ।. ।वषशीगुरु नरायण सिंहको वास्ते षर्च सिपाहके । १२ हजार रूपैकी जागीर– मरहेमत हुई. । सुना जाताहै । पलटन् गोरोंकी और तिलगों की वगैरे फौज अंगरेजी संवैसे बरस्ते दर्या सतलुजके आती है उधा वेके जिलेमे लामफौजका बाधा जायगा ।. लषनऊकीषबरमे मालूम हुवा नवाब हमदाड हुसैन षाव जीरने २२ लाष रूपया 'आमदनी मुल्कका' षजानेशाही. मे दाषिल किया ।. मालूम हुवा हुकुम गवरनर जनरल बहादुरका आयाके एक पलटन छावनी दिल्लीसे और २ पलटन् छावनी आगरेसे और ६ पलटन् छावनी मेरठसे रवाना होकर जालन्धरमे पहोंचेचुनाचे कुंचपलटनोंका तरफ जालन्धर के सुनाजाताहै । शिमलेकी षबरसे मालूम हुवा गवरनर जनरल बहादुर तरछुंदरषतेहैके शेषइमायुद्दीन नाजम कश्मीर मुलाजिम सर्कार लाहौरके ने कशमीरकी फोजको और रैय्यतको अपने मुतफिक करके महाराज महाराज गुलाबसिंहकी फौजको कश्मीरमे दषलनही दिया इस वास्ते फौज अंगरेजी कश्मीरको भेजी जावे और षर्च फौजका जोपडेगा सर्कार लाहोरमे लियाजायगा ।. मालूम हुवा हुकुम बलायतका आपाके गवरनर बहादुर मेंसाहेबान्को सलके जिले हिन्दुस्तानपे वास्ते कयाम अपनेके मकान तजवीज करें ।. जैपरकी षबरसे मालूम हवा कर्नेल सदर लैन साहब हजट अजमेरकेने ठाकुर छलमन सिंह बेटे रावल बैरी सालकेको राज जैपुरसें षारिज करके बंदवस्त रियासत जैपुरका रावल शिवसिंह वषशी मुन्ना लाल दीवान समेत राम ठाकुर लवाहन् वगैरेध सर्दारोंके सुपुर्द करके साहब मौसूफ अजमेरमे पहोंचेथे चुके आपुस्मे सर्दारोंमें निफाक है इस वास्ते बंदोवस्तमे अन्तरी हाल सुनकर साहबममद्हने रावत शिवसिंहको अजमेरमे तलब किया है ।. ग्वालियरकी षबरसे मषम हुवा शेष फत्त

नामेने गोली तमके कीरामरावकाल कियाके उपर सर करीथी वारषा लीगया रामरावनजकूर ने बावत इसी— जुरूमकेशेषफत्तूको फांसी दिलवाकर मरवा डाला ।। रामरावकालकिया ।। मुख्त्यार ग्वालियरका उमरमे ८० वरसुका है. बीमार लकुवेकी हुई डाकतर चेपसाहबडनका इलाज मालजा कर्ते हैं. इन्दौरकी षबरसे मालूम हुवा जो रूमहाराज हरीरावहुल करकी मरगई गौसमहण्मद षां वेगैरे नवाब सर्दार उस जिलेके । माफिक हुकुम साहबइजंटबहादुरके वास्तेगुजरानने नजर दसहेरे के इन्दौरमे पहोंच आगरेकी षबरसे मालुम हुवा साहबशेशन् जज्ज आगरेके नेमुसम्मा अजी जुद्दीन नामे डाक अंगरेजीके कारिन्देको के अकसर पुलन्दोमे से चोरी करके माल जिनस निकाल लेताथा हुकुम कैद ७ वरस पैरों में बेडी कार सडकका दिया लाहौरकी षबरसे मालूम हुवा मिस्तर जान लारन्स साहब कमिश्नर पंजाबकेने रानी साहब वाल्दै महाराज दिलीपसिंह बहादुरकी षिदमतमें अरजकियाके हुकुम वलायतका येहैके लाहौरका वन्दोवस्त तुम अपनेतौर-पर करो फौज अंगरेजीको उठालियाजायगा रानी साहब उजकर्तीहै फौज अंगरेजी के उठजानेसे वेइन्तजामीरीया-सतकी है इसवास्ते फौजका उठजाना मुझे मंजूर नही है ।।

श्री २

स्वस्तिश्री सर्वोपमा जोग्य सकलगुण गरिष्ट राज-भारोद्वार्णसामर्थषड्गग्राही धर्मा औतारमर्जादा महोदधि श्री श्री श्री वडाकाजी साहेब अम्वरसिंह थापा श्री अर्जुन थापाजीको ईत शिवदत्तरायकी आसिर्वाद वंचणि आपके पून्य सै इहाँ कुसल है आपका कुसल सदा सर्वदा चाहिये जिसने अनेक प्रानीका भला होय उप्रान्त पत्र आपकी मेहे-रवानगीका पहुंचता अति मालूम करी आगे आपने लेषा जो राजाको विषत लेषा है वकीलको वी १ षत भेजा है रजौरीके वकिलको जिस तरा होय उसतरा जलदी हमारे पास भेजना तुमको राजा तथा मुसदि भेजने तो तुमने साथ लेके आवना तुमको नहिं भेजें तो मातवर आदमी साथदेके वकिलको जलदि हमारे पास भेजना करके आपने फर्माय भेजा ईस वातका विति अैसा जो वकिलको तो इनोने विदाही फर्ना ठहराया था फेर वकिलने यहवातें मेरे पास कही तद मैंने आपको विति लेषाथा तिस्ते वकिलको अटका परषाथा वातें यह काम की त्याग हुवा है सौ आपने यादकरा तिस माफकशजा हो वीषत्त दिया वकिलको विषत दिया अर्ज फर्के वकिल आपके पासको भेजा है समहकि कत वकिल कि जवानी मालूम होगा मैंनेवी विदा मागा-था मेरे ताई राजाने नै वीमुसदियों नैथि कहा जो भंडिसै भले आदमी होवो बुलय भेजाते हैं कुलकोवीषत भेजते हैं उहाँका प्रति उत्तर आपेसै तुमको भेजेंगे आपने षी लेषाथा जो राजा तथा मुसदि तुमको अटकावै तो तुमने ताहाँ बैठना मातवर वकिलके साथ भेजना तिस्ते मैंने प्रस्थान वी भेजा है वकिलके साथ छोराको चर्णके पास भेजा दिया है फागूको मेरो ताईवी चर्णके पास वोलाय भेजीयेगा आगे और षबर अैसा जो सिंह अजसर है राजेवी सभ उहाँही है भूपसिंहा कैद करलिया है देसासिं गुलेरमे भेजा है गुलेरके हरीपुरकी चौकि सिद्धौरका गढ मैंनो सिंहका ठीना दाषिल हुवा मानगढ रामगढके किले रारों नै जरा तक-रार जैसा कराया ईसपर रामगढ रामगढको मोर्चा लगावनेको कहतेहैं यह किलेवी छुटही जानेहहीपुर सिद्ध-पुर छुटगये भूपसिं कैद हो गया तो मानगढ रामगढ नै वी किसतरा अटकना है गुलेरका काम तो होगया तिस्ते सोह-रायहवी है जोनपूरसें तारागढ रिलू मंगिते हैं घमंडाज सबाल सैं राजापुर मागने है गुलेर सारा अमल हुवै पीछे संसार चंदको चौकि ज्वगार भंडिका वैरावैरकोटका लेषन देके सर्फराज करके भेजना करके सिंहने कहि २ षाहैं तिस्ते देषिये गुलेर अमल करके संसार चंदको सर्फराज करके भेजता है की उसको भि उहीछीरषमा है फौज कटोचो की सभुनदौननै कठिअवा कर्ति है जोको टल हडपरहगामे को कठ्ठे है कोइकहते है जो गुलेरपर दवावके वास्ते कठ्ठे हुवैहै कोईकहतेहै जो जस्ताका राजापुरा सिंहको हुटाप देना इस वास्ते कठेहुवैहै कोई कहते है जो मंडि—

स्वास्ति श्री गिरीराज चक्रचूडामणिनरनायाणे त्यादिविविधविरूदावली बिराजमान मानोन्नत श्रीमन्महा-राजाधिराज श्री श्री श्री श्री श्रीमहाराजागीर्वाणयुद्धविक्रम-साहबहादुरसमशेरजङ्गदेवेषु सदा समर विजयिषु रङ्गनाथ शर्मण: शुभाशीर्वादपूर्वक पत्रम् आहाकुशल छौं ताहाँ हजूरको कुशल मंगलभया हाम्रो प्रति पालना होला आगे आहाको समाचार भलो छ उप्रान्त आहांको हाल सुरत हिजो चल्हाइ पठायाका विंतीपत्रले जाहिर भयो हो हाल-वनारसबाट सांझिला भाइले पठायाका चिठी चल्हाइ

पठायाका छन् विस्तार हकीगत जाहेर होला पटनाहा कि निस साहेव थै र इपरांडिगलि साहेबथै मानिस पठाइ राख्या छन् जो निस्तूक आउला विति गरि पठाउँला आहां गर्ना वास्तेका पत्रको तद्वीर राषि होसियारि सित गरिन्या छ. आहां पछिको जो हवाल होला विती गरि पठाउँदै रहुँला विज्ञ प्रभुषु किमधिकमिति पौष शुदि १२ रोज ५ मोकाम कचौरवा शुभं– – — —

श्री

निस्तुक षवर बुझि ल्याउनु भनि गोरषपूरमा पठायाको जमादार भाकषत्रि मेजर दयानिधि पाध्याले पठायाको षवर– — — — —

हामि तानसेनबाट गोरषपूर जांदा हाम्रा सिवानादेषी ७ कोस पुंढो वषैंचामा १२ सवार आई वस्याका रह्याछन् र तिमिहरू केन आहा आई वस्याका छौ भनि सोढ्या गोर्षाले लट्टा पनि गिरायो बुटवलमा लस्कर पनि आई रहेछ भन्या षवर पुग्दा कसो हो हेरि आउनु भनि हामी २५ सवारलाई वेलवावाट पठायाको हो १३ सवारपछि आउछन् आहा आई हेर्दा केहि देषेनौ झूटो षवर भयाको रहेछ भन्या र दोस्तिमा यस्तो केन होला भनि हामिले भन्दा वढिया भन्यौ तेसै हो अव हामि पनि जाउला भनि सवार हरूले भन्या वाहांदेषी भिर हरिया ठानामा पुग्दा चप्रासिको जमादार संग भेट् भयो र उसले पनि बुटवलमा लस्कर एक हजार भोट्या कुकुर आयो भन्दा सुनिल कसो हो भनि सोध्या र ई कुरा झुट्टा हुन् भनि हामिले भन्यु गोरषपुरमा पुग्यापछि माहाजन् भलाआदमिहरू सित वस् उठ् गरि वातचित् गर्दा अंगरेजको पश्चिममा गड्वड् छ गोरषपुरको रस्ता गरि १ विवि ३ साहेव के हि लस्कर षजहना तोप्हरू पश्चिम तर्फ जाँदा यस्तो हौरा उठ्न गयो ये साल भन्या आहा षड्वड्हुन्या देषिदैन आहा लाठ् र जर्नेलनू पल्टन गोरा १ पल्टन् काला पनि आउछ भन्छन् भन्या कुरा गन्यार लाड गर्नेल पल्टन्हरू आहा आउन्या रहेछ भन्या उनिहरू आया पछि हामी आउला भनि केहि दिन् गोरषपूर वस्यूं भनि पठायाको रहेछ शुभम्–

श्री दैवषाविद २ श्री ५ सर्कार १

अर्जि– — — — —

जहानावाद गढ कुमाउको मुषत्यार कमिस्नरले सिनटन् साहेवसंग र पल्टंको कर्नेल हमल ठिं संग भेट श्रेस्ताचार गरियो र भयाको विस्तार चरणारविंदको उमेद मिजाज मवारकर डोटि चौतरा साहेवको कुशल क्षम वारपारको रैताना वेवस्ता विस्तार समेत सोधनी गर्‍यो र जानत भरे निमकको आउंशो भरम् सहीत सोधनी गर्‍या वमोजीव जवाव दीन्या काम गरियो फेरि गोर्षा ·· १ ·· को र अंरेज सर्कारको दोस्तिमा तफावत् पर्दा दानापुरमा १२ पल्टं पुर्व सुषिम लगायेत् जगाजगामा षवर्दारीको वास्ता फौज राषियो अल्मोडामा पनी कपतान् समेत १२५ जवान् गोलंदाज दाषल भयो गोरा पल्टंका २ कंपनी र काला पल्टं १ अरू थपिन्या छ पश्चीम तर्फ भारी फौजको जमाउ भयाको अर्थ काबुलको गाडी सुजावल वादसाहको हो इन्का वजीर होस महमद षाँले अंगरेजका सल्लामा गादी सुजावल् वादसाहलाई नदीदा उस्का उपर लाट साहेवले फौज वंदी गर्‍याको हो सो षवर हीरातमा पुग्दा हीरातमा आयाको ईरानीहरू भागी आएना मुलुक ईरानमा गयेछ हीरात कामरान् वलाहेरू अंरेजसंग मील्या अव आया फौज फीरोजपुरमा थामिन्छ आधा फौज सायमा ली सुजावल समेत बंवई मंदराजवाट आयाको जंगीलाट काबुल जान्या छन् हाल र भारी फौज दुर्व लाट साहेव सतरुद्र वार फीरोजपुरमा छन् ५ तारीष अर्थात् मंसीरको २२दीन जाहा रणजीतसंग भेटमुलाकात हुन्या षवर छ भेट मुलाकात भयापछी जंगीलाठ फेन साहेव वेलायेत जान्या छन् भनी वीस्तार गर्‍यो र तस्को जवाव अंरेज सर्कारको अमलसरीमा छोटावडा कसैको हक् मारियाको छैन जेन्किचीत् अपना अपना हक्मा सवै कायेम छन् सुजावल पनी आपना हक् गादीमा गादीनसीन हुनन् येस्मा संदेह छैन वाकी गोर्षा ·····को र अंरेज सर्कारको दोस्तिमा फरक तफावत पर्याको मलाई याद छैन वयु कि दोटीमा पनी येस्तर्फवाट येस्तै गल्वा षवर जादा र झुल्घाट वंद भयाको षवर पुग्दा गोर्षा ··१··· को र अंरेज सर्कारको नसलन्वाट नसलन् तक्को दीली दोस्ती भयाको छदैछ जो कोही अंरेजको र गोर्षाको लडाइ हुन्छ

भन्या येस्ता कुरा वात गर्ला गीरपतार भै जेहेलषाना-
मा जाला भन्या उदि मनादी चौतरीया साहेववाट डोटी-
लयेन् वजारमा फीन्यो देषियो सर्कारि दोस्ती मनुष्यसंगको
होईनसीरफगादी गादीको दोस्ती हुन्छ गोर्षा —१ ...
तर्फ जगा जगाघाट गौडामा फौज थपिया बढचाको छैन
सावेक वमोजीव फौज तर्तांकिदी छदैछ दोस्ति पनी कायमै
छ कदाचीत् कोही फीतुरती मानीस्ले दोस्तीमा तफावत
पारी अंरेजको चढाइ भयो भन्दा भर्मकदूर गोर्षा ...१.....
को पहाड जमिन् समेत वेसक लडाइ दीन्यैछ तर येस्ता
गल्वा षवरमा वडासाहेवानहरूले सक्चमक् मान्याको
हवैन भनी वीस्तार गरियो र ये वात सच् छ तर यो साल
गोर्षा वकीलहेरू पूर्व ब्रम्हा पश्चीम राजा रजौटा लाहोर
समेत् जगा जगामा वहुत आवत् जावत् गर्दा चीठीपत्र समेत
दील्लीमा पकीदा लाठ साहेवले गोर्षाको चमक् मान्याको
छ तसर्थ लाठ गवरनर साहेवको हुकुम वमोजीव् ईंचीफ
जर्नेल मेघलाटन् साहेव अरू ४ साहेव स थमा ली पूर्व-
तर्फ गया वकीली काममा नेपाल सदरमा पनी पुग्या छन्
मुद्दा षवर भन्या नेपालबाट मालुम हुन्या छ भनी वीस्तार
गन्यो सो जाहेर होला गरीव् पर्वर ४पल्टं काला २ पल्टं
गोरा २ पल्टं तुरक सवार जंगी लाठ समेत वंवई मंदराज-
बाट कुच गरेछ रस्तामा छ काला गोरा तुरक् सवार समेत
३० पल्ट र १२ हजार उँट हजार ति हाती २५ सै वंजरा
दुवैलाठ समेत सतरूद्राबाट फीरोजपुरमा भेला छन् ईरानी-
हेरू हीरातबाट फर्कि आपना मुलुक ईरानमा गया हीरात
कामरान् वाला अंरेजसंग मील्या सलुक् भयो अब र आधा
फौज र सुजावल वादसाह साथमा ली वंवइवाट आउन्या
जंगीलाट काबुन जान्या छन् आधा फौज फीरोजपुरमा
थामीन्या छ रजजीत सींसंग भेट मुलाकात् भयापछी
जंगीलाट फेन साहेव वेलायत जान्या छन् भनी साहेवान्-
हेरू वीस्तार गर्छन् काला पल्टंका सुवेदार ज्मादारहेरूका
हेरूका जवांनीर गल्वा षवरमा भन्या २५ हजार पैदल ५०
हजार तुरक सवार ७ सौ तोव् जगा जगामा रणजीतसिं-
को तयारी छ सींहसंग अवस्य लडाई जोरीन्छ जो हुन्छ
भन्या वोली छ जुनावे आली साहेवान्हेरूको जवानीर
गल्वा षवरको मीजाषादैन अव १०।८ दीनमा जो नीस्तुक
बुझी मेला जाहेर गरी पठाउला आइन्दा के हजुरपुर्नु र दीन
दुनीका...२.....हुन हुन्छ गरीव् पर्वरसंको नीगाहा रहया
जाला

इतनीमक पर्वदो सेवक चतुर्भुज मल्लको दण्डवत् कुर्णेस
सेवा ९५ साल पौषवदी ३० रोज ७ अल्मोडाशु———

श्रावनसुदि १३ रोजका दिन फूलको पंषा वडोबाटसंग
कुतुव साहेवका दर्गाहमा चढाया पंषा चढायाका वखतमा
लाषजना जती मानिस जमा भयाका थिया शुभम्— —

त्रीस्वीन् साहेव सावन सुदि ३ का दिन जैपूरमा दाषिल
भै रानीजिर महाराजाका षिदमत्मा लाट साहेवको षरीता
गुजराई हाजिर रहन्या काम गर्दा राजाबाट साहेवलाई
आतरपान दिलाइ विदा दिनु भयो शुभम् —

लाहोरमा षुसहालसिको छोरा मन्यो———

हिजो वडा साहेववाट मुन्ना ज्मादारको जवानी
वादशाहका हजूरमा क्या कुरा विति गरी पठाया भन्या
जरूरी मुद्दाको अंगरेजी चिठी ३ मेरा नाउमा पनी कल-
कत्ता लण्डन्का निमित्त पनी आइपुगदा कम्तो बुझियो
भन्या अंगरेजी सन १८३९ अगस्त महीनाको ५ तारीषमा
काबुल फत्ये भयो दोस्त महंमद षां भागीगयो उस्का छोरा-
हरू पत्रीया सर्कारको दषल भै शाह शुजाउल् मुलुक
गादिमा वस्या यस्कुराको वादशाहवाट वडासाहेवलाई
मुवारकवाद भनी पठाउनु भयो शुभम्———

९६ साल श्रावन सुदि १४ रोज ६ का दिन दिल्ली-
वाट लेष्या शुभम्-- ———

लुध्यानावट जनरल मातवरसिं थापाले पठायाका
विष्णुदत्त पाठक र पद्मापति पाठकले कह्याका मुष ज-
मानका षवरको फर्द———

उप्रांत अंगरेजको १२ पल्टन् गोरा षे वरिया वि-
लोचहरूले घुस षाई जलालावादमा पुग्यायाको थियो उस्तै
विचमा काविलले उता जान दियेन येताबाट उनि षैवरिया
हरू डाकमार्न्या भया र जलालावादमा रह्याको छ तेसै
लस्करलाई गयाको रसद र अस्वाव गरि ८८ हज्जार उट
लग्याको विचमा डाक् पर्‍यो र उट् अस्वावको पत्ता केहि
पायेन काविलको लडाञ्जि हुँदा ३ लडाञ्जि मध्ये २ लडाञ्जि
अकवरषाले जित्यो तेस्रो लडाञ्जि हुँदा अकवरषाका कुम-
मा गोली लाग्यो र अंग्रेजले जित्यो उसै वषत अकवरषा

बल्लिन भनि बलग् बषारामा गयाको छ जादा षेर ३ मैल्ह सम्म तेरा मन पर्दो गर वाहादेखि मेरो निसान् कलकत्तामा गाडौला भन्न्या जवाप गन्यो जान्या वेलामा अंग्रेजले दोस् महमदषालाई गद्दि अंग्रेजको भैरहे छ त लडाञ्जि नगर भन्या वेहोरा अकवरषालाई लेषि पठा भन्यो र दोस् महमदषाले आपना छोरालाई लेषदा अकवरषाले तलाई जहासम्मको दुष देला वाहिसम्मको दुष म पनि दिन्या छु यस कुरामा संदेह मान्नु पर्दैन लडाञ्जि र म हर्केस छोडन्या छैन भन्न्या वेहोरा लेषिपठायो अजभोली दोस् महमदषाका ७ छोरा ७ बुहारी वेगम् स्मेत लुध्याना किल्लामा कैद छन् दोस् महमदषालाई मसुरि टिपामा लगी राष्याको छ फेरि कलकत्ताबाट लाट् आयो ७ पल्टन् गोरा उस्का साथमा छ उस्को उदि काविलाका म निस त वया हाकि कुकुर विराला रहन पावैनन् भन्न्या उदि पठायाको छ लषनौका नवाफबाट मद्दतलाई भनि पठायाको ५ पल्टन् सुनपतमा छ अमोला रजवन् ८ लुध्यानाका रजवन ३ र अरू ताहा पुडो रह्याक पल्टन्हरू पनि तिनिका साथमा जांछ भनि भन्ष्या काविलको वादसाह सुजाबललाई अंग्रेजले गद्दीमा राष्या पछि अकवरषाले अव तिम्रो हिरात सर भयाको छैन हिरातमर गर्न्या कोसल गरौ भन्या र लाठ्मेघडौन र अरू ४ साहेंव सुजावल स्मेत भित्र गै येकांत गन्या पछि ४ साहेंव वाहिर आया मेघडौन साहेंवलाई तमेचाहि अकवरषाले मान्यो अंग्रेज सवै भाग्या लस्कर पनि अकवरषाले मान्यो उसै वखत वादसाह सुजावलले १२ जना गोरा दवाया र उसै वातमा अंग्रेज हामिले धपाया पछि तैले फेरि गोरालोग् दवायेस् तलाई पनि मार्छु भन्दा मलाई कैद गरिराष् ज्यू नमार भनि वादसातले भन्दा अकवरषाले नमानि तमेचा हानि सुजाबललाई मान्यो २ वेगम कुदिकन मन्या ७ वेगम कैद गन्याका छन् काविलमा रह्याका १२ पल्टन् उकास्त भनि षान्दारको वाटो गरि अंडा गुड्गुड् आयाको हो षान्दारमा लडाञ्जि हुंदा २ लडाञ्जि हारि वाहिवाट हम्राको छ औ सिषर भोप्राकोसाथ लदाकमा २४ हजार प्यादा ६ हज्जार घोढाञ्जि सर्दार केसरसिं लाभसिं गै लडाञ्जि गन्या सिषले जितेछ र वाहावाट फेरि भोप्राको लस्कर ढेरै आउदा भोप्राको लस्कर ढेरै आयो हाम्रा भन्या लस्कर ३० हजार मात्र छ ताहावाट मद्दत पठाउँ छौ भन्या हामि ताहा वस्छौ मद्दत पठाउँदैनौ भन्या हामि फिरि आउछौ भनि केसरसिं लाभसिंले गुलाफसिंलाई चिठी लेषता फिरंगीलाई मद्दत दिन भनि गुलाफसिं पेसौरमा पुग्याको थियो उसै विचमा भोटवाटको चिठि पुग्यो र सेरसिंलाई चिठी लेषि आफु पनि फर्कि भोट तरफ मद्दत पठाउन् भनि आयाको छ भन्या षवर कुल्दीप् राउतले मातवरसिं थापालाई लेष्याको थियो भनि कह्या शुभं——

श्री शिवजी

१०

अंगरेजको र वलुचिहरूको दुइ घडीसम लडाइ हुंदा अंगरेजहरूलाई वलुचिहरूले जिति लपेटी ल्याउदा अंगरेजहरू फेरी अडीकन लड्दा वलुचीहरू बढ्न सकेनन्, फेरी ताँहावाट वलुचिहरू फर्की पहाडमा गै वस्या अंगरेजी भारी फौज पनि तांहि पुग्यो अंगरेजी फौज सेस्तानका नवापका राजधानीमा पुग्दा मुगलहरूले भारी लडाई गन्या. अंगरेजी फौजको मालिक मेघनाटन् साहेंव वहादूरले तोप्खाना जमा गराई फयर गर्न लगाउदा मुगलहरू ढेरै मारिया व की रह्याका सवै भाग्या सुजावल् मुलुक वादशाह सेस्तानका तप्तमा वस्या वडो उत्सव गन्या यो पराक्रम मेघनाटन् साहेंवको हो. यो मेघनाद नामा राक्षसेन्द्रको अवतार हो, यो वचन ··· ··· १० ··· को मंथान भैवर तंत्रमा छ ··· १४ ···

नजिमःवादवाट आयाका षवर——

रंजितसिंले १२ वर्षको मेला छ म हरिद्वार आउँछु भनि फिरंगिलाइ लेखी पठायो वढिया हो १२ हजार लस्कर लि आउनु भनि जवाव जादा मेरा साथमा ३ लाष सवार छ सबै हिंडछन् मुसलमान् कोहि छैन सबै नोहावन आउन्या छन् भनि जवाव आउदा अंगरेजको फौज आगरा भरथपुर तिर रह्याको र कानपूरगैह्र पूर्वतिरको पल्टन पनि लोध्यानामा जमा हुन लागी रहेंछ रंजित्सींको पनि सदा कुवरँ आफना देवानको छोरा समेत ८० हजार सवार लोध्यानाको नजिक फुटोट भन्याका जगामा आई रहेंछ भरथपुरको नजीक्को कमौनिका गढिको मुसल्मान १ सर्दार थियो आफना लस्कर लि रंजित्सिं छेउ गैरहेछ रंजित्सीं भन्या अँवरसमा छन् शुभँ——

श्रीपातस्याह सिराजुद्दीन महम्मद वहादुरश्याह लालहिले दिल्लीके मैं विराज है मिर्जा मुगलवेगपांन दीपग् नवाव मुष्तार है श्री हुलसन साहव कसोन दरवाजो किलेका बन्दोवस्त रषताहै २ अक्षर अलकाव नवाव है डरवाद सूवा दक्षिण कुनुसको नम्रतसि ज्यादा सुक्वेमै लिषेथे सो विना परवानगी श्री लाट गवरनर जनरलको जारी नहो महा सरफराजी पत्र पडा है ।। और साहवान अंगरेजकी मर्जी वदस्तूर कदीम रषनेकी २५ हजार रुपया महीना इजाफा दे है परंतु पातश्याह इनिकी के ती बार्ता जिसमें मान नही रहता सो मनजूर नही फरमाते है ।। और नवाव मिर्जापुत्र मुषतार कर श्री श्याह जाहर वली अहद वडे पुत्र जो युवराज्य है तिनकी सरकारका मुषतार भया ६० हजार रूपया सालकी आमदनी मै षर्च ३६ हजार सालका २४ की जमां करनेकी लिषदी थी सो सर्व षर्च किया ११ हजार वढती ऋण कर्ज कीया सो वली अहद वफर भया निज लक्वभ्रात मुषतार किना नवाव मिर्जा हर्षातै आपसमै श्याहजादेके नौकरो तै मारपीट करी और अंगरेज कै फिराद करी नियाज अली उसनु पाध्याय बुगैरे ७ बजे नौकरों पूयाहजा देके कवंध करारा अवरकैद फेकी वस्तो लगरही है फिरंगी इन साफ होगा और श्री लाटसम लेतै वहनां भरनी युत गुरुकोट ४० को सहै गये है मर्जी तारनससाहव सिकन्न कीवेहै इस पर्वत परि फिरंगी गौर्मुख सिवाय काला आदमी किसी भांति किसीकी जागा राज्यका नरहै

जैपुरमै श्री रावल वैरीसाल नाथा वतमुषतार था सो मांदगी रोगतै काल किया मरा अवराजा छोटा रानी परिवसिलक्षमणसिंह मुषतार पुत्र है अजमेरका साहव आये पैमुष नारी किसीको दैरीगी

महाराज मानसिंहजी जोधपुरके किलेपै है पुरुष मुषल्हीं देषते हैं महलमैंही रहते है राज्यकार्य जोगी भीमनाथ करैहै प्रागनाथ पुत्र मुषतार निज राज जोधपुरका लुटैहै अजमेरके साहव लिषा हैं जो उसते १० लाष तुमपर वाकी मामले किया फौज षर्चा कंपनीके चढे हैं सो देवो और निज देश प्रजाका स्वचक्र परिचक्र तै भय मेटो वंदोवस्त करो ह्वीलिषो जो फौज कंपनीको वंदोवस्त करैं सिंध्येमहाराज झुणकोजी गुवालेर मैं मादेथे अव धोडाफायदा है राजा झांसीका मरा फिरंगीकी मर्जी तै भाइनुसका राजा भया साहव वर्दवान के उहांके राजा कुं वावत वे अदवीके कैद किया राजा कर्म्मसिंह षटपालावाला सैफावाद ३ कोस पटया लेतेहै कंपूर सिंह सर्दारके कैद किया पांच लाष रूर्डक मांगैहै और वकील कपूरसिं घमाकि रंगीके मुलुकमैं आया है इसी भागनें के अंदेसे तै टिप्कानी वडापुत्र परिके पनी रषी फेरि उठाइली

श्री महाराज रणजीत सिंह सिषसाहव अमृतरस सेती अदीना नगर पहुंचे अर्जी फकीर अजी जुद्दीनकी आई जो लाट साहव १००। रू रिसाले सरकार के कुंभी इनाम दिये हैं परवान मिश्र रूपलालकार दार डवावेके नाम गया जो सोटी नंदपुरमा माषोवालका वन्दोवस्त करना और ५ पांचको हाँ परमेघटण साहव वैट आहकी महिमा दारी कुंइस इफ सतलुज कै सर्व त्यारी रषनी अजि हुइ जो कंधारवाले और सालुषांनके वालिके केला से के किलेवा लौस्तूइरांनकी फौज हटावनै वास्तै अहदनामाँहुवाथा सो भूलेषमै दोनो थोक लडे रात्समै बहु लोग मरि गराजषमी भराको कौलनामा टूटगया दानों धिराँ तौंदीवाँन दीनाँनाथ अजि हरी जो रूसी सराहके वकील आपके पास आवते है हुकमदिया जो इह्नोकूचंगी फौजकी कवायद दिषाइ लीजीषाल सजीकी फौज कुंदेष चंगी जानै और ५०। रू रोजी नोदिवान कृष्णलाल दिल्लीके कौं करे १९ जेउहुं मेगलाटण साहव इसीवुर्क साहव डाकतरसाहव वैट साहव बुगैरै ८ त ९ साहव समलेसेफकीरजी वुगैरैकी साथ अदीनाँ नगर पास पहुंचे मिश्र रूपलाल वगैरै कारदार जोइस तरफ सतलुजके पेउह्नाँ हुकुम सरकार तै २५०। रू रोज हरमुकाममै साहवोंकुं औरयेते ही फकीरजी होरों कुं सर्व ५००। रू रोज भरा १० मजल ताइ अदीना नगर तकदिये और घासई धन रसद आदि सर्वाहाजर करी साहव तालव पुरू हि जेरी ७ कोस अदीनां नगरमैं पूर्वतरफ आरा सरकारनै कवर सेरसिंह सर्वजलू सतै लहनाँ स्यंवमजीठीयासिंह दो वालिया राजा सु चेतसिंहका वेटा इस्तक वाल साम्हीने आनेकुं भेजे साबसव जाइनुह्नौ तै मिले राजा सुवेत सिंह २५०। रू वैड साहवके सिरपर सेवारे और कवर शेरसिंह नैं ५००। रू मेघलाठणसिरतै

अरू दो कुल हनाँ सिंघ २ दोकमाँ नाँ दीह्नं इह्नों सर्वकुं अदीना नगर सरकार डेरे पासनु तारा देरा कराया १००० हजार ११ आदाजतो पछुरी बुतकी स्वर्णकी ५२ घडे मिठाइके भरे ज्याफत सरकारसें मे वे विजारती सुधाँसाहवाँ कुं ज्याफतमिजमाँनी फकीरजीदी दीनानाथ मिश्र वेलीराम पहुंचाइ और ईधनछास मैदा अडकुहरू डींकै बुगैरै सामान रसद दीह्नी २ को पनी १ रिसाला सवारोंका २ नो बाँसाहवाँ की साथ हैं और सिंह साहब सर्वदर वारियोकुं हुकम दिया वसंती पोसाक जडाकु गहणेंनुमदा सर्वपहरिकै दरवारमैं आवना २० जेठ प्रविष्ठकीकुं राजा सुचेत सिंह अजीत सिंह नुरम सेर सिंघ मिश्र वेलीराम कुं साहबीकुं दरवारमैं लावनेका हुकम दिया सो वेजाय इह्नोंकुं हाथो पौंरि चढाय जलूससे तीला राज दिवाग केदार पहुंचेत दि राजा ध्यानसिंह और धन्नासिंहमलवई साम्हे होकर मिले फिरि सरकार और हीरासिंघ २ त ३ पैंड कदम उठकर वगल गीर मिलेवाराँदी मैं सर्व साहवाँ कुरूपे स्वर्णकुरसि निपरि वैठाये मेघनाटन साहव २ त ३ घोडे मीनाकारीके जीन सुधाँ २ तम चेदस्तेग डाक हीरोंके १ तरवार मूठक वजा जडाकुं १ कंठी वडे मोती धुगधुगी उमदा जडाकुसुधाँ १ मूर्ति लाटजी सहव फिरंगी गवर्नरकीका गद कै कु परिचीती हुइ षलीता षतनजर किया सरकार नै ५००। रू मेघनाटण के २५०। वैंड साहवकै सिर तैं तसडक करवरि ३ घडी वार्ता दोस्तीकी वाहाल शमलेकी सर्व हिंदुस्थान विलायतोंकी और फौज महम्मंद अली श्याहका जारई रानीका जो हिरातसे लडैहै भई फेरि ११ आवाज तोन अंगरेजी की और २१ अवाज तोप सिष्षोंकी सर मुलाकात की षुसी की भइ और षवर अमृत सर्की सेंजाँनी जो तोपषानाँ लहणाँ सिंहके में अग्नि लगी ५ त ६ मनुष जलगये साहव सवार होकर निज डेरे गये षुभी हर्ष भया भली भाँति मुलाषात हुइ है।

सप्तरीको चन्द्रभागा र कान्छा खोरीयाको भग्नावशेषहरू

–साफल्य अमात्य

महेन्द्र राजमार्गको बाटी गरी लहान (सिराहा) बाट करिब तीस किलो मिटर पूर्व सप्तरीको शंभुनाथ पञ्चायत अन्तर्गत पर्ने कनकपट्टी गाउँबाट करिब ४ किलो मिटर उत्तर–पश्चिम चुरे पहाड चन्द्रभागा भगवती र कान्छाखोरीया (गढी) को भग्नावशेषहरू छन् (१) (फलक १)। उदयपुरको सदर मुकाम राइघाटबाट यी स्थलहरू करिब पन्ध्र–सोह्र किलो मिटर दक्षिण–पूर्वमा पर्दछ। त्रिजुगानदीको एउटा सानो हाँगा स्वरूप बगेको सप्तरीको खाडो खोलाको ठीक उत्तर–पश्चिम पर्ने यी प्राचीन स्थलहरूबारे घेरै कुराहरू आजसम्म पनि खोजकै विषय भइरहेका छन्।

प्रचलित लोक परंपरा अनुसार यस क्षेत्रमा पन्ध्रौं शताब्दिमा चन्द्रकेतु नामका राजा भएको विश्वास गरिन्छ। यिनै राजाले वर्तमान सप्तरी जिल्लाको उत्तर–पूर्वमा राजमार्ग नजिकै पर्ने धर्मपुर गाउँदेखि करिब पाँच किलो मिटर उत्तरमा पर्ने चुरे पर्वतमाथि उनका कुलदेवी चन्द्रभागा भगवतीको स्थापना गरेका थिए भन्ने विश्वास गरिन्छ (२)। आजसम्म प्राप्त मकवानपुरका सेनराजाहरूका वंशावलीहरूमा चन्द्रकेतु नाम गरेका कुनै पनि सेन राजा भएको देखिँदैन। तर चितौड सेन वंशावलीमा (३) चुडाराज सेनबाट सेन वंश शुरू गरी सत्ताइसौं वंशजका चन्द्रसेन नामक एक सेन राजाको नाम उल्लेख गरेको छ र मुकुन्दसेन (प्रथम) लाई चन्द्रसेनको उत्तराधिकारी गरी देखाएको छ। यदि मुकुन्दसेन (प्रथम)का पिता वा पूर्वज चन्द्रसेन नै उक्त लोक कथाको चन्द्रकेतु राजा हो भनी अनुमान गर्ने हो भने सेनहरू नेपालको पूर्व तराई (मकवानपुर वा विजयपुर) बाट नै नेपाल भित्र पसेका थिए भन्ने तथ्य साबित हुन्छ (४)।

नेपालको भूभागमा सेन वंशको संस्थापक मुकुन्दसेन (प्रथम)ले ईशाको पन्ध्रौं शताब्दिको अन्त्य र सोह्रौं शताब्दिको शुरूसम्म (A.D. 1482–A.D. 1520 मा) विशाल पल्पाली राज्य खडा गरिसकेका थिए (५)। उनको

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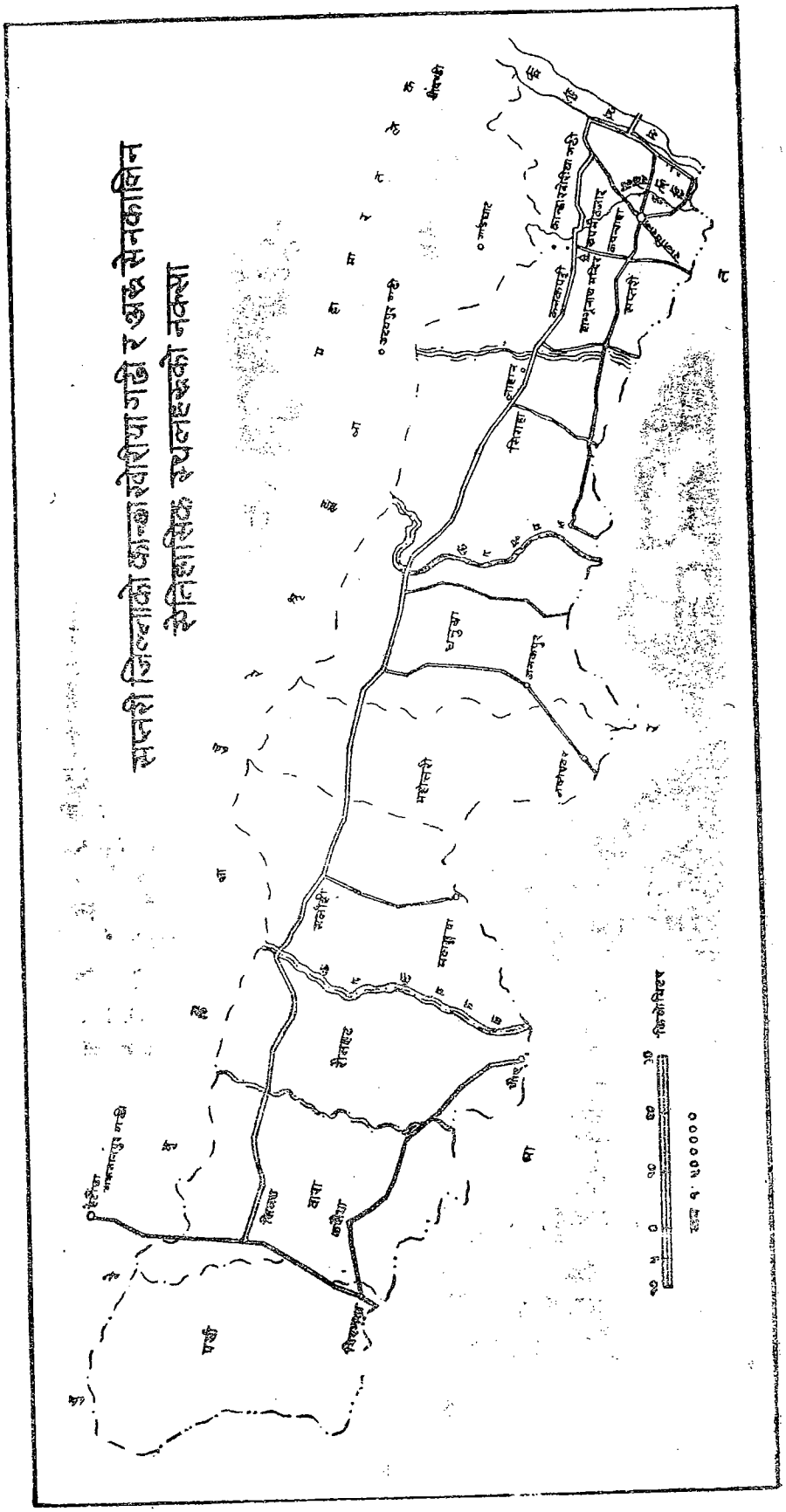
१ सप्तरीको सदरमुकाम राजविराजदेखि करिब ६ किलोमिटर उत्तर एक प्राचीन किल्लाको भग्नावशेष छ। हेर्नुस्—श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, **मेची देखि महाकाली** भाग १, काठमाडौं, २०३१ साल, पेज ८२२

२ श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १

३ शङ्करमान राजवंशी, सम्पादक, **सेन वंशावली**, वीर पुस्तकालय, काठमाडौं २०२०, पेज ३४–४०.

४ विस्तृत जानकारीको लागि हेर्नुस्–साफल्य अमात्य, मकवानपुरका केही पुरातात्विक उपलब्धि **प्राचीन नेपाल**, (श्री ५ को सरकार, पुरातत्व विभागको मुखपत्र) संख्या १४, माघ २०२७, पेज ३७–३८.

५ मुकुन्दसेनको राज्यकाल बारे विभिन्न मतहरू छन्। हेर्नुस्–साफल्य अमात्य, नं. ४ पेज ३६–३७.


सानही जिल्लाको काली गण्डकी र अप्पर मेनखोलिन
जलविद्युत् आयोजनाको
साइट म्यापको नमूना

राज्य सिमाना बारे पनि धेरै विवादहरू छन् (६)। तर, जे होस् उनको मृत्यु पछि (वि.सं. १६१० मा उनको मृत्यु भयो) उनका चार छोराहरू जेठा माणिक्यसेन, माहिला भूगीसेन, साहिला विनायकसेन, कान्छा लोहाङ्ग सेनले विशाल सेन राज्य (पश्चिममा गण्डकीदेखि पूर्वमा तिस्तासम्म र तराईको विशाल भाग) आपसमा बाँडी लिएको देखिन्छ (७)।

यस अनुसार सबभन्दा कान्छा छोरा लोहाङ्ग-सेनले आफैंले विजय गरेका राज्यहरू मकवानपुरदेखि पूर्व कोशी क्षेत्र र सम्पूर्ण पूर्वी तराई समेत पाए। यो राज्य अत्यन्तै ठूलो थियो। यो राज्य पछि गएर मकवान-पुर र चौदण्डी दुई राज्यहरूमा टुक्रियो (८)।

लोहाङ्गसेन पछि उनका जेठा छोरा र धवसेन मोरङ्ग र छिमेकी प्रदेशका राजा भए। राधवसेन पछि उनका छोरा हरिहरसेन राजा भए। हरिहरसेनका छोरा-हरूमा राज्यको निमित्त झगडा भयो। आफ्नो जेठा छोरा महाकुमारसेनसंग मनमुटाव भए पछि हरिहरसेनले आफ्नो राज्य मध्ये कोशीदेखि पश्चिमको भाग कान्छा छोरा शुभसेन र कोशी पूर्वको भाग नाति इन्दु-विक्रमसेनलाई बाँडी दिए (९)।

आफ्ना मन्त्रीहरूको छलकपटले गर्दा शुभसेन र इन्दुविक्रमसेन दुबैलाई पूर्णियाका नवाब इस्कन्दर खाँको हातमा कैदी हुनु पर्‍यो। नवाबले मोरङ्गको ठूलो भू-भाग कब्जा गरे। शुभसेनका नयन प्रबोध दास शुभ-सेनका दुई छोरा महिपतिसेन (मान्धातासेन) र मानिक सेनलाई लिई किरात प्रदेशमा शरण पर्न गए। यिनै किरातहरूको मदतबाट र खास गरी किराती नेता विद्या-चन्द्र राईको मदतबाट यिनीहरूले आफ्नो पैतृक राज्य माथि फेरि कब्जा गर्न सफल भए। पछि महिपतिसेन र मानिकसेनले पैतृक राज्यलाई विभाजन गरी विजयपुर र मकवानपुरको राजा हुँदा विद्याचन्द्र राईको सहायता लिए वा लिएनन् भन्ने कुरामा र विजयपुर र मकवानपुर-का यहरूको इलाका बारे इतिहासकारहरूको विभिन्न मत छ। यसरी शुभसेनको राज्य दुई छोराहरूमा बाँडिंदा मकवानपुर राज्य अन्तर्गत नै पहाड पट्टि सिन्धुलीका पौवा-गढीदेखि पूर्व अरुण कोशीसम्म रहेका सुनकोशीदेखि दक्षिण पट्टिको महाभारत क्षेत्रलाई छुट्टै चौदण्डी प्रशासन प्रदेश बनाइएको देखिन्छ (१०)। दुधकोशीदेखि अरुण कोशीसम्मको माझ किरात पनि चौदण्डी मै सम्मिलित थियो। हालको उदयपुरदेखि दक्षिण पट्टिको भाबँरमा नयाँ र जधानी चौदण्डी बनेको थियो (११)।

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६ मातृकाप्रसाद कोइराला, 'मकवानपुरको सेन वंश,' **प्राचीन नेपाल**, संख्या ४, श्रावण २०२५, पेज १६

७ क) स्टिलर,एल,एफ, **पृथ्वी नारायण शाह इन द लाइट अफ 'दिव्य-उपदेश'** काठमाडौं १९६८, पेज १०-१४

ख) बालचन्द्र शर्मा, **नेपालको इतिहासको रूपरेखा**, बनारस, २००८ साल, पेज २०१

ग) कोही इतिहासकार भन्दछन् लोहाङ्गसेनले मुकुन्द-सेन जीवित छदैमा आफूले शासन चलाइरहेको पूर्व तिरको प्रदेशको आफूलाई स्वतन्त्र राजा घोषणा गरे आदि। हेर्नुस्-प्रो० तोत्रराज, पं० नयराज, **नेपालको संक्षिप्त इतिहास** बनारस, २००४ साल पेज ७७

८ श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १

९ अरू जानकारीको लागि हेर्नुस्-[क] साफल्य अमात्य नं. ४ पेज ३९ [ख] तोत्रराज, नयराज, नं. ७ [ग] पेज ७७

१० अरू विस्तृत जानकारीको लागि हेर्नुस्-[क] श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १, पेज ७६८-६९
ख) बाबुराम आचार्य, **श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वी नारायण शाहको** संक्षिप्त जीवनी, काठमाडौं, २०२५, पृष्ठ ६०१-२

११ श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १ पेज ७६९

शुभसेनका दुई छोराहरू मध्ये जेठा महिपतिसेनले कमलादेखि पूर्व पट्टि अर्थात् विजयपुर तिर वि.सं. १७७० मा कब्जा गरे। कान्छा छोरा मानिकसेनले मकवानपुरमा आफ्नो राज्य स्थापना गरे। मानिकसेनका चार छोराहरू मध्ये जेठा हेमकर्णसेन, माहिला जगतसेन, साँहिला जयमङ्गलसेन, र कान्छा विक्रमसेन थिए। मानिकसेन पछि हेमकर्णसेन मकवानपुरका राजा भए। पछि वि.सं. १७८४ तिर जगतसेन चौदण्डी राजा भए। जगतसेन चौदण्डीका राजा कसरी हुन पुगे भन्ने कुरामा इतिहासकारहरूको विभिन्न मत छ। एउटा भनाइ अनुसार जगतसेन शुरूदेखिनै हेमकर्णसेनका प्रतिनिधिको रूपमा चौदण्डी प्रदेशको प्रशासन चलाउँदथे (१२)। पछि हेमकर्णसेनका वनिया मन्त्री र किराती मन्त्रीहरूको मत नमिल्दा किराती मन्त्रीहरूले जगतसेनलाई चौदण्डी राजा बनाए (१३)। जे भए पनि सन् १८३५ मा मकवानपुरको राज्य विभाजित भै चौदण्डी राज्यमा हालको उदयपुर जिल्लाको साथै अम्बरपुरको तराई क्षेत्र (हालको सिराहा र सप्तरी) पनि सम्मिलित थियो। जगतसेन पछि यिनका उत्तराधिकारीहरूमा मुकुन्दसेन [तेस्रा] विक्रमसेन र कर्णसेन क्रमैसंग चौदण्डीका राजा भए (१४)। श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वी नारायण शाहको राष्ट्रिय एकीकरण अभियानको बखत चौदण्डीका राजा कर्णसेन थिए। चौदण्डीको राज्य कब्जा गर्न बक्सी अभिमान सिंह बस्नेत र सरदार पारथ भण्डारीलाई पठाइएको थियो। श्री ५ बडामहाराजाधिराज पृथ्वी नारायण शाहको फौज आएको खबर पाई राजा कर्णसेन विजयपुर तर्फ भागे। त्यसैले चौदण्डीमा रहेका सेनाहरूले हार मानेर राजधानी छोडी दिए। यसरी सन् १७७३ जुलाई १६ का दिन चौदण्डीको सेन राज्य वृहत् नेपाल अधिराज्य भित्र गाभियो (१५)।

चन्द्रभागा [भगवती] र कान्छाखोरीया [गढी] का भग्नावशेषहरू प्राचीन सेनहरूका राजधानी उदयपुर र चौदण्डी गढीबाट करिब करिब उत्तिकै दूरीमा पर्दछ। कान्छाखोरीयामा इंटाको पर्खालको किल्ला भित्र एउटा प्राचीन दरबारको भग्नावशेष देखिन्छ। उक्त प्राचीन सेनकालीन दरबारको बनौट र अरू विषयहरू बारे बढी जानकारीको लागि त्यस स्थलमा उत्खनन गर्न जरूरी छ। हाल सतहमाथि देखा परिरहेका पुरातात्विक सामग्रीहरूमा इँटाको पर्खालका भग्नभागहरू, इँटाको इनारको भग्न भागहरू र केही प्रस्तरका कलात्मक टुक्राटुक्रीहरू नै हुन्। इँटाको आकार २४ से.मी. लम्बाई १७ से.मी. चौडाई र ५ से.मी. मोटाई छ (फलक २)।

सेनहरूका घेरै जसो प्राचीन किल्लाहरू इँटाको नभई प्रस्तरका छन्, त्यसैले कान्छाखोरीयाको इँटाको गढीको आफ्नै विशेष महत्व छ। चुरे पहाडको एउटा सानो थुम्को माथि निर्मित यो किल्ला तथा दरबारबाट सजिलैसंग अम्बरपुरको तराई क्षेत्रमा पुग्न सकिन्छ। संभवत् यो चौदण्डीका सेनराजाहरूको शरदकालीन राजदरबार थिए। ह्यामिलटनको भनाइ अनुसार, लोहाङ्गसेनको राज्य भित्र खास गरी कमलानदीदेखि पूर्व खाँडो खोलासम्म घेरै गढीहरू थिए, जस मध्ये चुरे पहाडमा पनि एउटा गढीको उल्लेख गरेको छ। शायद उनले उल्लेख गरेको चुरीया गढी (१६) अथवा नरागढी मध्ये एक नै हालको कान्छाखोरीया गढी हुन सक्छ।

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१२ क. बाबुराम आचार्य नं. १० ख,

ख श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १ पेज ७६९

१३ बालचन्द्र शर्मा, नं. ७ ख, पेज २०७—८

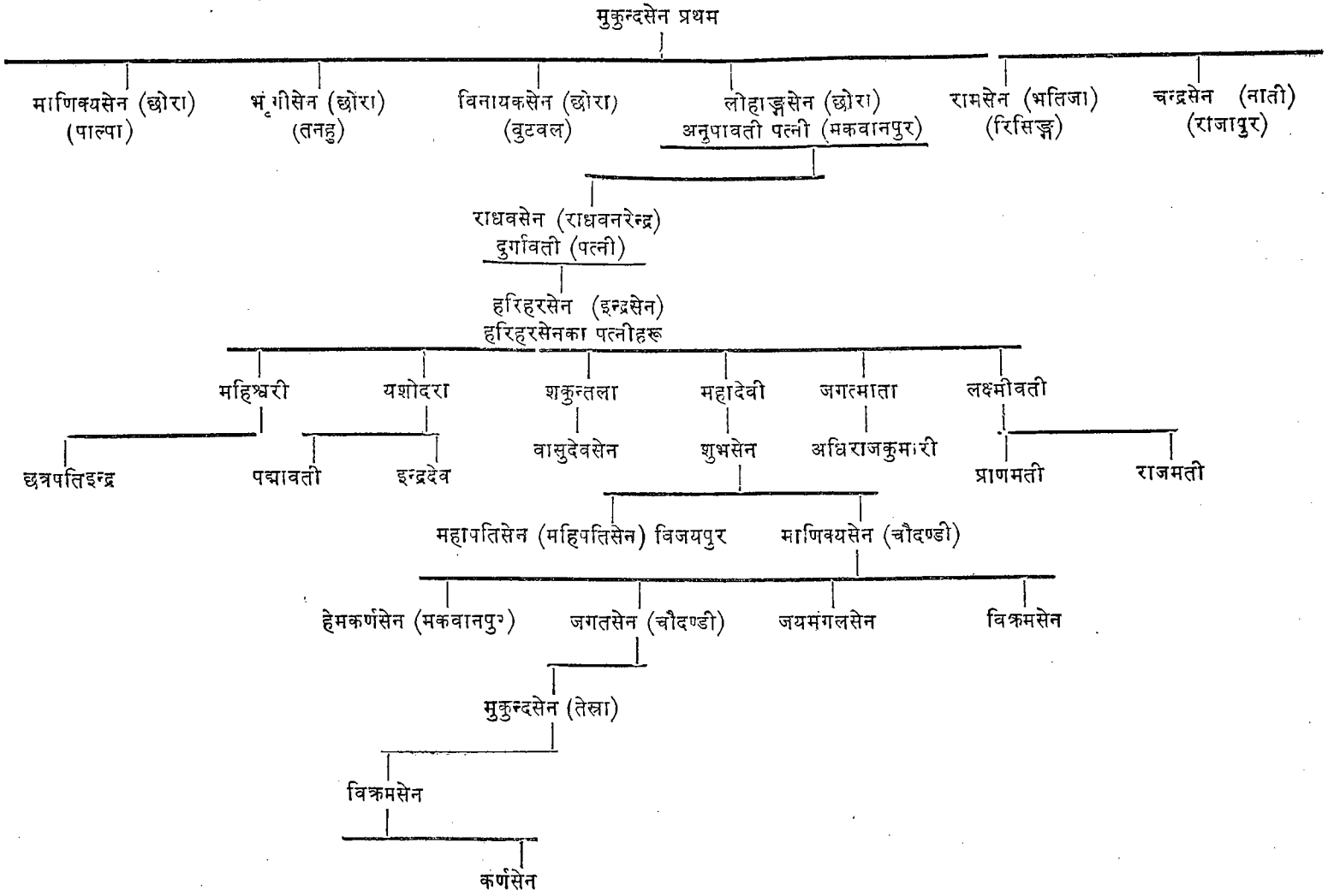
१४ चौदण्डीका सेन राजाहरूको वंशावली। हेर्नुस् अनुसूची १

चौडण्डीको विस्तृत ऐतिहासिक जानकारीको लागि हेर्नुस्, श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १, पेज ७६९-७७

१५ अरू जानकारीको लागि हेर्नुस्, श्री ५ को सरकार, सूचना विभाग, नं. १, पेज ७७१

१६ ह्यामिलटन, एफ, बी, **एन एकाउण्ट अफ द किंगडम अफ नेपाल**, न्यू दिल्ली, १९७१, पेज १६०—६१ र १६५

अनुसूची-१


मुकुन्दसेन प्रथम
माणिक्यसेन (छोरा) (पाल्पा)
भृंगीसेन (छोरा) (तनहु)
विनायकसेन (छोरा) (बुटवल)
लोहाङ्गसेन (छोरा) अनुपावती पत्नी (मकवानपुर)
रामसेन (भतिजा) (रिसिङ्ग)
चन्द्रसेन (नाती) (राजापुर)
राधवसेन (राधवनरेन्द्र) दुर्गावती (पत्नी)
हरिहरसेन (इन्द्रसेन) हरिहरसेनका पत्नीहरू
महिश्वरी
यशोदरा
शकुन्तला
महादेवी
जगत्माता
लक्ष्मीवती
छत्रपतिइन्द्र
पद्मावती
इन्द्रदेव
वासुदेवसेन
शुभसेन
अधिराजकुमारी
प्राणमती
राजमती
महापतिसेन (महिपतिसेन) विजयपुर
माणिक्यसेन (चौदण्डी)
हेमकर्णसेन (मकवानपुर)
जगतसेन (चौदण्डी)
जयमंगलसेन
विक्रमसेन
मुकुन्दसेन (तेस्रा)
विक्रमसेन
कर्णसेन

मातृका प्रसाद कोइरालाका भनाइ अनुसार पुरानो चतरा गद्दी हालको चतराभन्दा कोशी पारी पश्चिम दक्षिणमा थियो र मकवानी (सेन)हरूले प्रथम गद्दीनसीन भएकोले नै सो ठाउँको नाम पछि गद्दी भन्ने रहेको हो। मकवानी सेन राजाहरू आफ्नो प्रशस्तिमा श्री रूपनारा—णेत्यादि लेखी अरू विरुदावली लेख्ने गर्दथे। सो प्रशस्ति-को सम्बन्धमा यो पनि भनिन्छ। यसको सम्बन्ध सप्तरी-रूपनगरसंग छ, जो मकवानी सेनहरूको आदि राजधानी थियो। रूपनगर वरिपरी कन्चनपुर, खोजरदको गुफा (सुनिन्छ चुरे गुफा भित्र मूर्तिहरू छन्) आदिमा प्रशस्त पुरातात्विक सामग्रीहरू छन्। यसको खोजतलास र अन्वेषण हुनु जरूरी (१७)। उनको भनाइ अनुसार पुरानो चतरा सप्तरीको तराई क्षेत्रमा कतै हुनु पर्दछ। संभवत् कान्छा खोरियाको किल्ला र दरबार वरपर नै (हाल शंभू-नाथ पञ्चायत र धर्मपुर गाउँ नजिकै कतै सेनहरूको त्यो प्राचीन राजधानी रूपनगर हुन सक्छ (१८)।

कान्छा खोरियाको प्राचीन भग्नावशेषबाट करिब दुई किलोमिटर उत्तर पश्चिम अर्को एउटा चुरे पहाडको थुम्कोमा चन्द्रभागा भगवतीको मन्दिरको भग्नावशेष छ (फलक ३)। यो भग्न मन्दिरका धेरै प्रस्तरका कलात्मक भागहरू नजिकै वगिरहेको चन्द्रभागा नदीले वगाई टाढा, टाढा तराईको फाँटसम्म पुऱ्याएको देखिन्छ (फलक ४)। जाडोको मौसममा अन्वेषण टोली सो नदीको वाटो गरी उक्त स्थलसम्म पुग्दा बाटामा धेरै नै मन्दिरका प्रस्तरका भागहरू देखेका थिए (१९)। चन्द्रभागा भगवतीको नामले यो स्थल प्रसिद्ध भए तापनि हाल त्यहाँ कुनै भगवती वा देवी-की मूर्तिहरू भने देखा परेको छैन। त्यहाँ हाल देखा परि-रहेका मूर्तिहरूमा भैरवको मूर्ति (फलक ५) प्रस्तरका टुटे फुटेका खम्बाहरू, संभवत् सेन राजा र रानीको मूर्ति (फलक ६) र केही शिवलिङ्गहरू नै हुन्।

यहाँ का केही प्रस्तर मूर्तिहरू मध्ये एकलाई हाल रूपनी बजारमा स्थापना गरेको छ। यो मूर्तिको अनुहार हात र खुट्टाका भागहरू भने नचिन्ने गरी विग्री सकेको छ (फलक ७)। स्थानीय वासिन्दाहरू उक्त मूर्तिलाई हनुमानजी भनी पूजा गर्दछन्। तर शारीरिक वनावट हेर्दा यो मूर्ति कुनै नाची रहेको स्त्री मूर्ति जस्तै देखिन्छ। यसरी नै चन्द्रभागा भगवती स्थानमा रहेका अरू केही मूर्तिहरू कनकपट्टिका गाउँलेहरूले पनि संरक्षण गरिराखेको बुझिन्छ। यस मध्ये एउटा गणेशको मूर्ति पनि छ भनी भन्दछन्। तर पुरातत्व विभागको यो अन्वेषण टोलीले केही कारणवश उक्त मूर्ति हेर्ने अवसर पाएन।

शंभूनाथको ख्याती प्राप्त मन्दिर मोहनपुर र कन्चदाहा भन्ने गाउँहरूको बीचमा महेन्द्र राजमार्गबाट केही दक्षिण तर्फ पदछ। चुरे पहाडको फेदी तराईको फाँटमा अवस्थित यो मन्दिर गुम्वज (मुगल) शैलीमा बनेको छ। मन्दिर भित्र एउटा अष्टकोणाकारको खम्बाको टुकालाई शिवलिङ्गको रूपमा पुज्ने गरेको छ (फलक ८)। उक्त प्रस्तरको खम्बा करीव ५ फूट ५ इन्च लामो छ। मन्दिरको मुख्यद्वार पश्चिम र दक्षिण दिशा तर्फ फर्केको छ, जुन साधारणतया हुने गर्दैन। भनिन्छ, यो प्रस्तरको खम्बाकारको लिङ्ग चन्द्रभागा नदी बाट यहाँ ल्याई स्थापना गरेका हुन्। मन्दिर माथि उकल्ने सिढी संगै केही भग्न प्रस्तरका कलाकृतिहरू र मन्दिरका खम्बा, छाना, द्वार, तीरण, चदुवा आदिका टुकाटुकीहरू राखि-एका छन् जस मध्ये एक नारी मूर्ति (संभवतः मंगला गौरीको मूर्ति, सहितको तोराणका टुका र चतुर्भुज गणेश सहितको प्रस्तरको टुका विशेष उल्लेखनीय छन्। साथै मन्दिरको गजुरको टुकाटुकी, प्राचीन इँटाहरू (साइज २४ से.मी. लम्वाई १७ से.मी. चौडाई) पनि यहाँ राखि-एका छन्। यस्तै प्रस्तरका कलात्मक टुकाटुकीहरू कनक पट्टि वरपर खेत वारीतिर पनि प्रशस्त पाइन्छन् (फलक ९)। यी सबै प्रस्तरका कलाकृतिहरू ईशाको पन्ध्रौं शताब्दि तिरको हुँ देखिन्छन्। शंभूनाथमा वैशाख सक्रान्तिको दिन ठूलो मेला लाग्दछ। तसर्थ पुरातत्व विभागको अन्वेषण टोलीलाई प्राप्त सामाग्रीहरूको आ-धारमा सप्तरीको चन्द्रभागा भगवती र कान्छाखोरीयाको भग्नावशेषहरू ईशाको पन्ध्रौं शताब्दिको अन्त्यतिर वा ईशाको सोह्रौं शताब्दिको शुरूमा निर्माण भएको प्राचीन गढी, प्रासाद र मन्दिर हुनुपर्छ।

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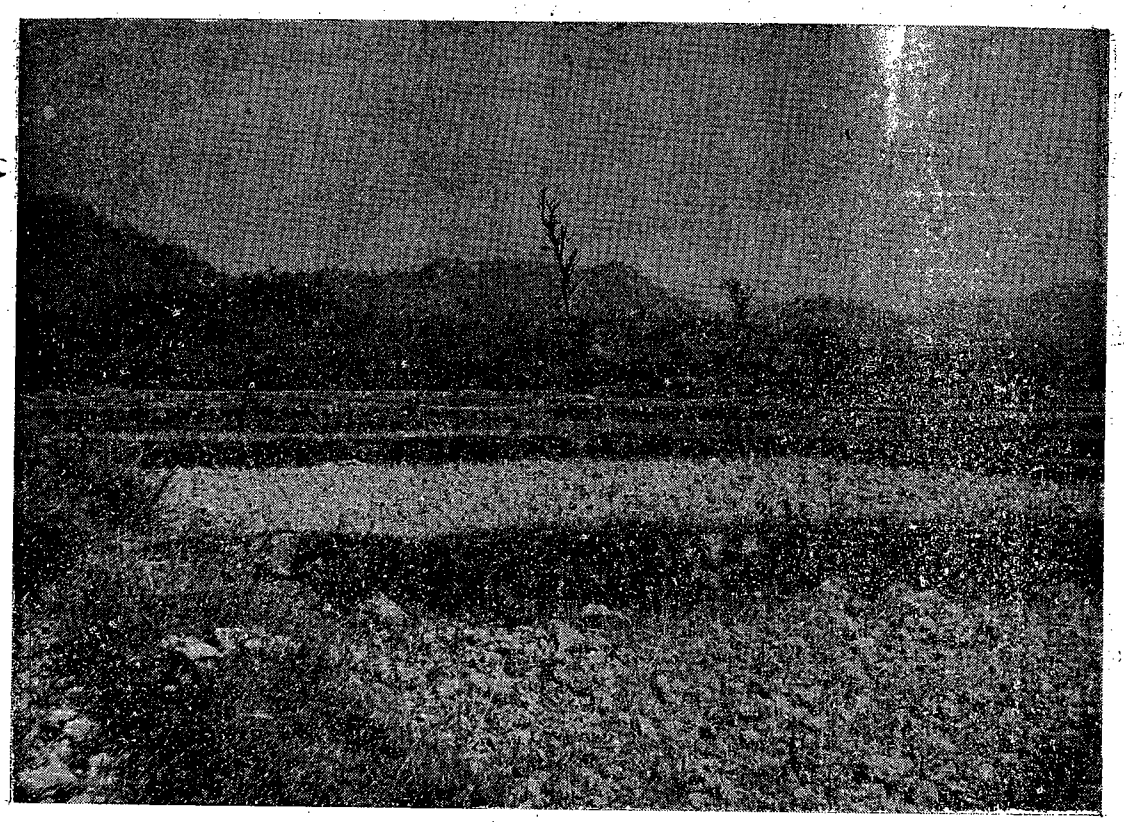
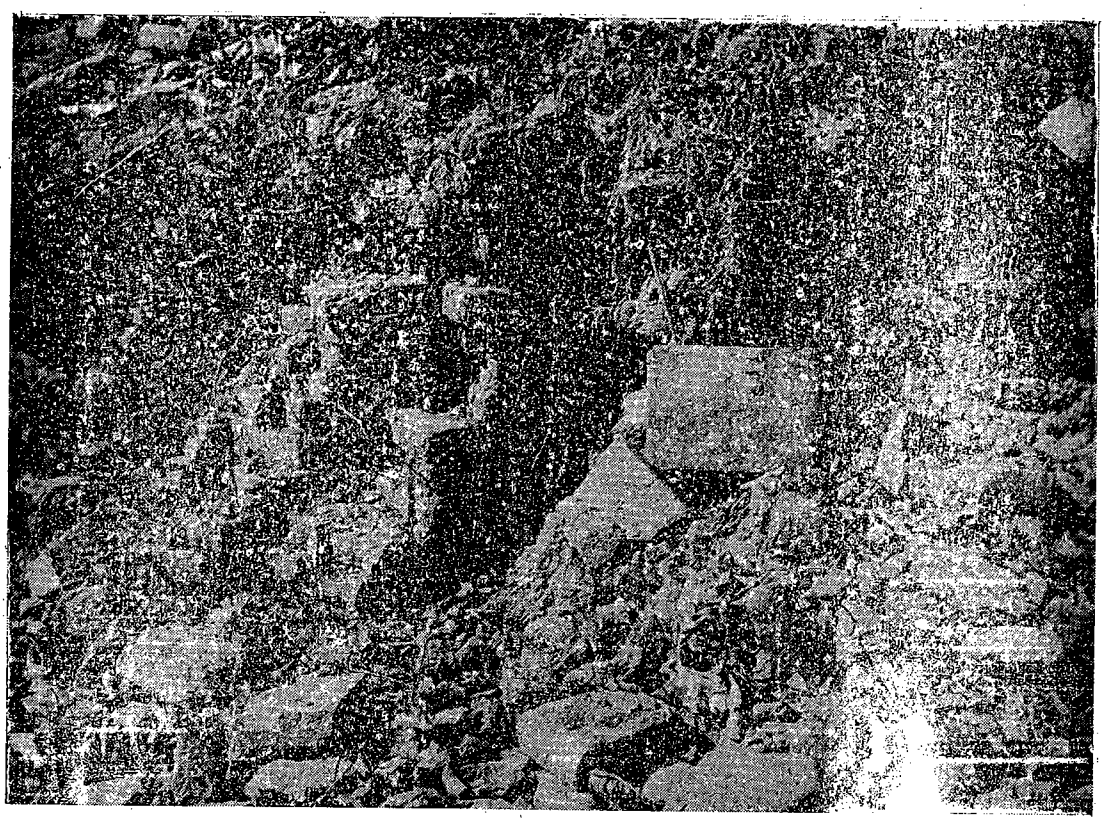
१७ मातृका प्रसाद कोइराला, नं. ६ पेज १७-१८

१८ सप्तरीमा रूपनी बजार र रूपनगर अझै छँदैछ।

१९ वि. सं. २०३४ साल पौषमा प्र.अ.अ. श्री साफल्य अमात्यको नेतृत्वमा खटेको उक्त टोलीमा सम्पादक श्री शङ्करमान राजवंशी तथा माइको पिलमिष्ट श्री विजयशङ्कर श्रेष्ठ पनि हुनुहुन्थ्यो।



फलक १



फलक २

फलक ३

फलक ४

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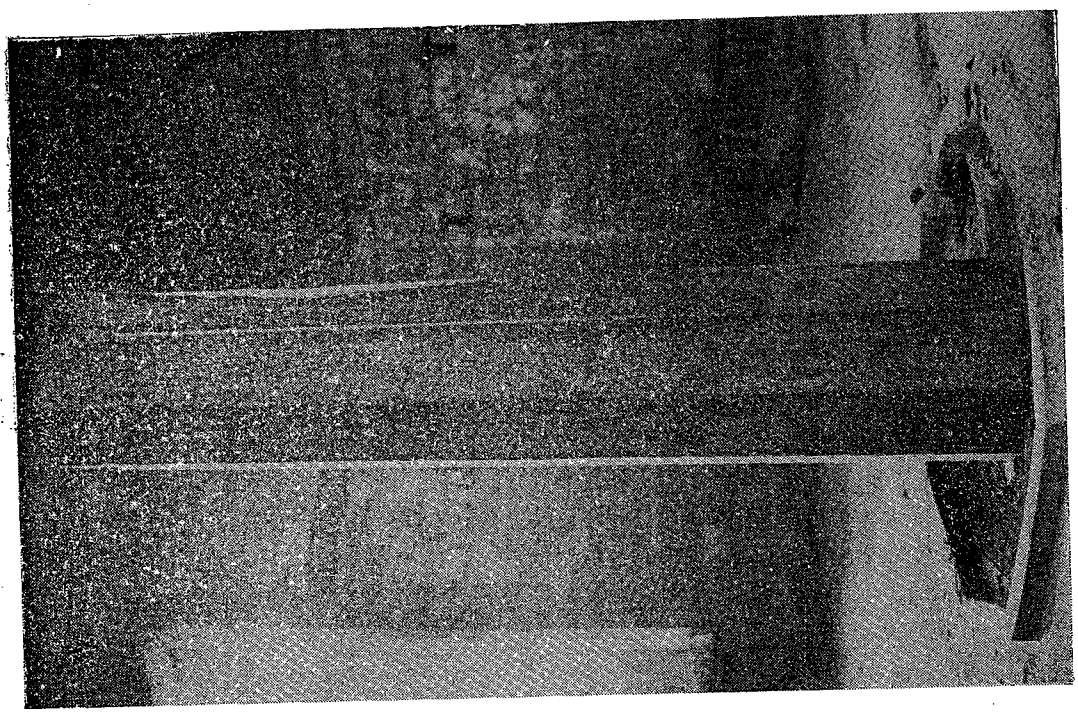

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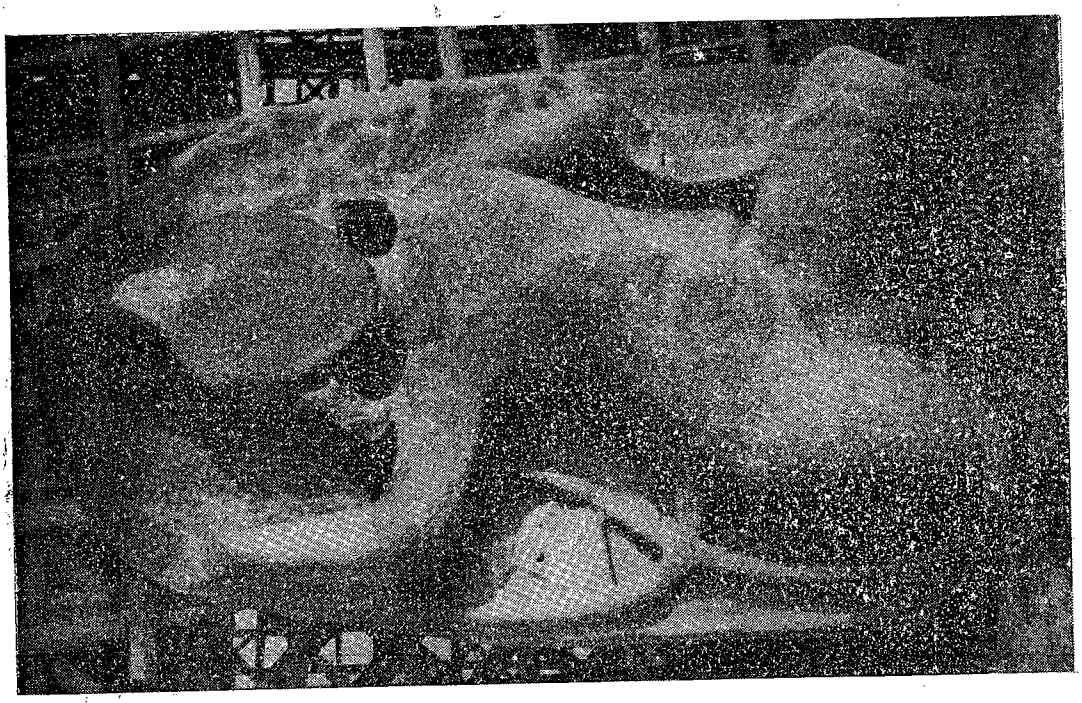

फलक ७

फलक ९

NEPAL

(Continued from No. 28)

'The Gurkhas'

– by Sylvain Levi

The Gurkhas who established themselves as masters of Nepal since 1768, still continue to carry with pride the name of the country which had been the cradle of their might: Before prithivi Narayan's conquest, they inhabited the principality of Gurkhas, one of the small states that constituted the territory of the Twenty Four Kings (Chaubisi Raja), in the valley of the Seven Gandakis, to the west of Nepal. Naturally, the principality varied in extent, in the chaos of a moving and ambitious feudalism. In general, it reached the Tirsuli Gandak in the east, the most easterly of the Seven Gandakis which waters the manorial grounds of Nayakot and which the mamelons of the Deochok alone separate from the Nepalese waters. At the period of the three kingdoms (XVIIth–XVIIIth centuries), the kingdom of Kathmandu extended in the west to the right bank of the Tirsuli Gandak. The Gurkha had for regular boundary in the west, the Marsyandi, which separated the principality of the very small states of Lamjung, Tanahung and Pokhara. The capital, Gurkha, only town of the region, is built on a lofty hill, the Hanuman-banjang which slopes to the west in the Darandi. It is situated at about 100 kilometers from Kathmandu. It is credited with 2,000 houses of about 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants, including its suburbs. The old Darbar, the cradle of the actual dynasty of Nepal, is falling in decay. The town and the principality have taken the name of their tulelary divinity, Gorakha Natha, or in ordinary colloquial Gorakh, Gorkha patron of the Yogis who inhabit the Himalayas: we shall find him again, associated, in the literature and traditions of Nepal, with Matsyendra Natha, patron of the great valley.

The first inhabitants of the Gurkha country descended from the Newars and like them, of Tibetan origin, they retained and still bore in part the name of Magars. Their kings were of the same race, but with a mixture of Hindu blood: they prided themselves to be ksatriyas of the mountain, the khas, they belonged to the clan of the khadkas. But in 1559 (Wednesday, 8 Bhadon badi caka 1481, nakstra Rohini[1]), the son of the raja of Lamjung, Dravya Shah, captured the town by surprise, with the help of those Hindu-converted clans, killed the king with his hand and ascended the throne, He is the ancestor of the Gurkha dynasty.

Dravya Shah was very keen of an illustrious origin. The Tradition, piously and proudly preserved by his descendants, connected him to the most authentic and purest of Rajput clans. The emperor Alau-d-Din (which the legend wrongly confuses with the name of Akbar) furious against the Rajputs of Chitor who had refused him the hand of a woman of their caste, set out to capture the impregnable fortress and captured it (1303). Thirteen hundred Ranis (women of the Ksatriya caste) voluntarily sacrificed themselves on the pyre, the princes coveted by the Musulman, threw herself in a tub of boiling oil, martyr of Brahmanic purity. A portion of the survivors withdrew on Ujjayini (Ogein) under the leadership of Manmath, last son of the Raja of Chitor, whilst the eldest was on his way to found Udaypur, is looked upon since then as the paragon of the Rajputs.

The youngest son of manmath, Bhupal, left Ujjayini, and under instructions from his personal divinity (istadevata) took up his seat in the north, in the hills, at Ridi or Riri, a little borough situated at 260 kilometres from Kathmandu and at a 160 kilometres from Gurkha. He reached the place in 1495, nearly 200 years after the fall of Chitor, of which, his father had been a witness. From Ridi he proceeded to Sargha, then travelled in an easterly direction to Bhirkot. He settled there and tilled the land. He begetted two sons, Khancha and Micha, whose mother was carefully guarded from being mentioned. He had them initiated as Ksatriyas and gave them for wives, Rajput women from the plains. The second son, Micha, conquered Nayakot, small town to the north-west of Gurkha, distinct from the town of the same name on the boundaries of Nepal. One of his descendants, Kulmandan, became king of the principality of Kaski, near Nayakot, and received the title of Shah from the emperor of Delhi. The people of Lamjung, a neighbouring village sheltered in the mountains, came to ask him for one of his sons as king; when they received him, they took him for a target, under the pretence of aiming at game, and pierced him with poisoned arrows. But incapable of ruling themselves without a king, they went and asked the king for another son, they eventually succeeded in winning over his legitimate refusal by most solemn engagements: authorized to choose among the five remaining sons, they waited for the night, observed the sleeping princes, saw the head of the youngest rise from the cushion and convinced by the lofty destinies which awaited him, took him for their chieftain. It is this prince, who in his turn had for second son Dravya Shah, conqueror of Gurkha.

Colonel Tod, the indefatigable compiler of Rajput traditions, has gathered another legend on the origin of the Gurkha dynasty.[2] It had for founder the third son of king Samarsi of Chitor, who proceeded towards the end of the XIVth. century to settle down at Palpa, the actual capital of the Western provinces of Nepal. Samarsi is no other than Samara Simha, the predecessor of Ratna Simha who was beaten and made a prisoner by Alau-d-Din. Samara Simha is known by several inscriptions dating from 1275 (?), 1278 and 1285 J.C.[3] A third tradition gathered in Nepal by Hamilton,[4] attributes the foundation of Palpa to Rudra Sen, descendant of Ratna Sen of Chitor, otherwise of Ratna Simha, the successor of Samara Simha. The period indicated here and there, does not vary considerably from the time when Harisimha deva invaded and conquered Nepal.

The capture of Chitor aad the scattering of the Rajputs are historical facts, well

established: the history of the ancestors of Dravya Shah, which is bound to it, is at least doubtful and their genealogy is not reassuring. The sceptics can observe that each one of the branches and sub-branches of the family has for starting point the last born of the sons, as if the lineage of the eldest sons was too well known and too certain to lend itself to alterations and fraudulous interpolations. The successor of Dravya Shah did not succeed at the first attempt in having themselver recognized as authentic ksatriyas in the Hindu society. Rama Shah, who reigned from 1606 to 1633 and who gave a code to the Gurkha country, sent an ambassador to the Rajput prince of Udaypur, with the mission of exhibiting his genealogy aud of obtaining the express recognition of his rank.

The chief of the clan Sisodhiya, the Rajput, by preference, allowed himself to be dazzled by the genealogical tree of Rama Shah; he was on the point of acceding to the request, when a discreet counseller suggested him about questioning the ambassador on his own caste: It would then appear clearly whether the rumours which were afloat regarding the horrible impurity of the mountain people, were ordinary slanders. The ambassabor who gave himself up as a Ksatriya, had to admit after having exhausted all subterfuges that he belonged to the Pande clan; now it happened that the Pande of India were a clan of Brahmans. The case was heard and the ambassador had to return crestfallen.[5]

This monstrous union of a name of Brahmanic clan with the title of Ksatriya, which scandalized the puritans of India, had, however, become a realization in the valleys of the Himalayas under the patronage and control of the Brahmans. Their ingenuity always ready to side with their irreconcilability, had created, under the appearances of an ordinary resurrection, a new caste that combined two features theoretically irreconcilable; They were the khacas, the khas.

The khas were the local result of a group of phenomena already noticed in the valley of Nepal, but which had followed another development. The Brahmans who had ascended from orthodox India, as pilgrims, missionaries or adventurers, had made use of their aristocratic prestige and sacerdotal prestige on the fair sex; welcomed with honour and veneration by these rough mountain tribes, who respected and feared in them the magic or all powerfull prescriptions, they had created irregular families; the childern of these unions rejected by the Brahmanic codes were legitimately admitted in the Hindu society; but they were compelled to occupy a very small rank. The evil was not serious had they alone with the Brahmans represented the social order of India in the Himalayas. But the Brahman does not tread on barbarous ground without working out conversions; the semi-savage tribes aspire to getting incorporated in the superior organization which the Brahman rules and disposes at will; the very obligations which the caste imposes flatters the pride of the novice: they isolated them by a rigorous barrier and change into an insurmountable gulf the thin line of demarcation which separated him from the inferior classes. In exchange for this adhesion to the fundamental laws of the church, which prescribe the respect for the Brahman and the cow, the Brahman invented a subterfuge of genealogy which permitted him to introduce his proselyte in the envied caste of the Ksatriyas. A vague concord in the name of thr barbarious ancestors, the remote resemblance of a legend sufficed to throw a bridge

between the Ksatriya candidate or aspirant (Ksatriya) and one of the numerous heroes of Hindu tradition.

But the new Ksatriya was not at the end of his pains; in spite of his wearing the Brahmanic string and taking a Brahman as guru, the authentic Rajput held his too recent nobility at a distance and would not decide to give him his daughters in marriage; he was left to choose his wives among the indigenes and the sons born of such unions could not maintain tnemselves in the paternal rank. The old social theory of the dharmashastras alloted them a degrading condition, but it was full of zest in connection with an ideal, regular and submissive society and had only to make in the valleys of the Himalayas; the new Ksatriyas were not disposed to pay for their title by a humiliation imposed on their progeny. The Brahman knew how to conciliate the letter and the character, the doctrine and the practice. Among the irregular class issues of the Ksatriyas, Manu designated the Khasas (or Khacas): they were shown side dy side in the classical[6] code, together with the Licchavis and the Mallas who constituted the military aristocracy of Nepal; alike them, the khasas were acknowledged as the regular descendants born in legitimate marriage of a Ksatriya who had been excommunicated for neglect of sacred duties. The name of the khasas had been perpetuated in the codes, but on positive or real notion were connected to it.[7] On the other hand, the epic and literary geography of India, had for a long time past been applying this designation to the populations which bordered Northern India, on the frontier of Brahmanism; the name floated, like most of the ancient ethnic, in the undulating limits and could have spread to the Tibetan plateaux.[8]

The old dharmashastras, in enrolling the name of the khasas, as also the name of the Yavanas, of the Pahlavas, of the Cinas aud of so many other real people, have simply had for object to define their social situation in connection with the Brahmanic hierarchy. The Brahmans, faithful to their steadfast tactic, resusciated an old name which had fallen in escheat and made use of it to cover a new creation. They recognized the sons born of unions between the Ksatriyas and the indigenous women, as authentic representatives of the ancient khasas, and granted them the privilege unlike to the true ksatriyas, of the Brahmanic string.

The plan was so ingenious and satisfactory that it could serve two ends. The sons born of union between the Brahmans and the indigenous women and fallen from the paternal rank owing to the blunder of an irregular birth could not sink lower than the irregular sons of the ksatriyas; they could not rise higher than the new khas who bordered very close to the second caste. They were equally recognized as khas, also received the Brahmanic string and retained at the same time the name of the Brahmanic clan to which belonged their father. Attempts were made to distinguish them from the other Khas by the designation of Ksattris or Khattris, also borrowed from the convenient terminology of the code;[9] but the custom refused to admit these subtle distinctions, and the ksattris blended with the Khas. The authentic Rajputs who come from the Hindustan and who united with the indigenous women, pretended also, to classify apart under the name of Ekthariahs, their privileged descendants; the mass of the khas absorbed them in its heterogenous chaos. The clans of local nobility, converted after the rajas of the mountains, came in their turn to mingle.

The powerful family of the khas covered with its tribes, the vast space of the mountains which extends from Nepal proper to Cashmere.

The small military principality of urkha was expecially peopled with khas. They were some of them vassals of the king, others officers or soldiers. It was thanks to the complicity of the khas clans that Dravya Shah was able to capture Gurkha in 1 59, it was thanks to their fidelity and devotion that the Gurkha Kings were able to maintain and extend their power, without affiliated to any of the leagues, which were being formed at every moment between the princes of the Territory of the Twenty four Rajas; it was due to their untiring courage that Prithivi Narayan succeeded in reconquering Nepal. The khas had already figured in the history of Nepal, before this conquest; they appeared for the first time at the same time as the Magars and the fermented radish, a little while before the expedition and the conquest of Harisimha deva. It was the time, when the Rajputs, repulsed by the Musulmans, withdrew to the mountains, joined the service of the barbarous princes, overthrew them and founded Hindu states on the ruins of the indigenous feudality. Rudra sena who is known to be a descendant of Ratna Simha; last independent king of Chitor, has founded the town of Palpa. His successor Mukunda Sena extended the paternal domain. Nepal was in a state of anarchy; king Hari deva only exercised a nominal power. A native Magar expelled from Nepal depicted to Makunda Sena the valley as a sort of Promised-Land; the houses had gold roofs, the water pipes were of gold. The king of Palpa rushed, routed the Nepalese troops; his soldiers smashed and disfigured the images of the gods and they even removed the Bhairava placed before the image of Matsyendra Natha as a guardian and sent it to Palpa. Mukunda Sena offered to on avail, as a sort of expiation to Matsyendra Natha the gold chain which adorned the neck of his horse. "The figure of pahsupati, which is called Aghora (That of the South) showed its horrible teeth and sent a goddess named Mahamari (Plague) who swept the country, in fifteen days, of all Mukunda Sena's soldiers. The king fled under the disguise of Sanyasi; but reaching Devi-ghat below Nayakot, he died. Such is the Nepalese account; but the tradition of Palpa states that Mukunda Sena ruined himself the Empire which he had founded, by dividing it betwcen his four sons.[10] Mukunda Sena, later like Prithivi Narayan, commanded an army of khas; several among them remaied established in the valley, so quickly conquered and lost.[11] According to Kirkpatrick a great number of khassias families (that is to say Khasiyas or Khasas) who are a tribe of the West, emigrated into Nepal and established themselves as Newars (408 or samvat 1344) (1287/8 J.C.), under the region of Anwant Mull Deo (Ananta Malla deva) and three years later, as Newar 411; a considerable number of families from Tirhout also emigrated in their turn.[12]

The migration of the Khasas reported by kirkpatrick has preceded by little their invasion under the leadership of Mukunda Sena, if even it is not mixed up with that invasion. On either side, it is an event that took place towards the end of the XIIIth. century and the beginning of the XIVth.

At that period, the indigenous tribes of the west, in spite of the lineage of race and language, were held as ordinary

demons by the refined Newars. The Gurung, the shepherd, who occupied the alpine regions to the West of Nepal, to the North of the Magars, served as the ogre of our fables to threaten and horrify the children; to stop them from shrieking, they were told: Wait a while, Gurung Mapa will come and take you away. Gurung Mapa did not delay in taking a real life in the imagination of the people; they at first recognized him as a Raksasa. They had seen him come and devour the children. And they conceded to him the oweership of Tudikhel on condition that he would eat no more; he further agreed, in return for a regular gift, to prevent any building operations to be undertaken on this ground, which still remains waste-land. (It serves to-day as a manoeuvring ground).[13]

The Khas are not all Gurkhas; the Nepalese provinces to the West of Gurkha and the British districts to the East of Cashmere have a numerous population of khas, members of the same caste; but the khas natives of the Gurkhas are not khas: All the inhabitants of Nepal, who had arrived thither together with Prithivi Narayan, with some sort of a title, great lords as well as pariahs, are Gurkhas and have a right to this privileged name.

The first of the Gurkhas, the Gurkha preemienently is the king: Maharaja-Adhiraja. The king and the royal family which embodies all the legitimate descendants of Dravya Shah flatter themselves in being pure blooded Ksatriyas. The presence, of a Khancha and of Micha, inserted in the royal genealogy, only distresses those ready to criticise; these two Anaryan names, which relate the ascendants of Prithivi Narayan to descendants of the Rajputs of Chitor and also the features, more Magars like than Hindus of the members of the royal family, do not prevent them from being reckoned as Thakurs, namely as indispututable Rajputs. The caste of the Thakurs is sub-divided into fifteen to twenty clans. The king is of the Shahi clan or Shaha. The Mallas, who gave kings to Nepal for a long time, form another clan of Thakurs.

The Khas, who ranked immediately under the Thakurs, are credited to-day with being worth the authentic ksatriyas and for the past half century, they are inclined to substitute their ancinet designation which they bore with an affected vanity which the name of Chettris or Ksatriyas; the relations with India, be coming more frequent have disclosed the disadvantages of too-estimated a title up till then. Sons of Brahmans, of Rajputs, or of those converted and united with indigenous women, ksattris, Ekthariahs, or khas of origin, one caste alone embodies and mingles them. In an instructive but little edifying fraternity, meet and jostle the venerated names of the Krahmanic clans, the glorious names of the ksatriyas clans and barbarous names of the indigenous clans. In vain, the Brahmans thinking the hour of concession passed, have attempted to introduce in their relations with the khas, a rigidity more in conformity with orthodoxy; the Khas of Nepal persist in ordering that the children, born of the women of their caste united with the Brahmans should wear the sacred string, take the rank of the khas and receive the name of the paternal clan.

There, however, exists a category of degraded khas, which has a right of the title of the khas, but which has no right to the Brahmanic string: they are the children issue of unions between the authentic

khas and the widows of the same rank or with the concubines of inferior rank. They follow the same rules of purity as the khas, but they are curtailed to more humble occupation; they can freely marry among themselves, whatever be the paternal clan.

The Gurkha khas exercise the Hindu religion and willingly stand as champions for it; but apart from the numerous superstitions which they share with the Hindus, they have reduced the dogmas to one article of faith alone: the respect of the cow sums up for them the Brahmanic doctrine. In Nepal, the slaying of a cow is punished with the capital punishment-death-a simple act of brutality committed on a cow is punished with imprisonement for life. The Gurkhas have undertaken repeated wars against the kiratas, established to the East of Nepal to compel them to abstain from eating the cow which at one time was their food of predilection (most preferred). They forbade the Murmis, neighbours of the Kiratas from entering the valley because these "Tibetans of carrions" ('Siyena Bhotiya') eat the flesh of dead cows, dead through natural causes, now that it is forbidden to kill them.

The Brahman is less favoured by the fate than the cow, in spite of the superstitious respect which he inspires; Prithvi Narayan and his successors were very free about confiscating often, the properties of the Brahman. In any case, the capital punishment could not be passed against a Brahman. In Nepal; he preserves thither the ancient privilege, which the Brahmanic codes conferred on him. The most serious penalty that could be inflicted on him is perpetual imprisonment with the forfeiture of his caste.

Superstitions even to childishness, the Gurkhas khas are not hampered by the formalities prescribed by the rules of Hindu purity. To eat, is for the Hindu a serious affair; he has to undress from head to foot, bathe, adore the divinity (puja), clean his utensils and especially avoid the contact of inferior castes. The Gurkhas, if he is even a khas, is content to remove his head-piece and his shoes and eat in company with Gurkhas of all classes, all kinds of food, except rice and dal (kind of lentil), which the higher castes refuse to eat with lower castes: also, if the rice is cooked in Ghee (melted butter), all the castes eat it together. Even the Thakurs accept to eat in common with the Hindus as suspicious as the Magars and they are free to dispense with it until their marriage. They all drink without embarrassment from the same leather bottle, provided it is made of goat's leather. As a contrast to the Hindus, who profess a scrupulous respect for life, the Gurkhas are great eaters of game and of fish especially. They share the taste of their Newar subjects regarding vegetables and especially garlic as well as for rice or wheat-alcohol (raksi) and brick-tea; they are also fond of adorning themselves with flowers.

The dress, simple and prartical, is also very tight-fitting: It has even become very popular with the Nevars. The less fortunate wear by way of trousers Hindu fashion, a piece of cloth passed round the waist and brought between the legs; furthermore, they have a tight-fitting jacket, closed on the chest by a long line of buttons running from the waist to the neck; they are shod with leather sabots square shaped, which take (or fit) the foot well and rise the ankles; their head-piece consists of a small bonnet (cap) which fit

in exactly the top of the skull. Lastly, they wind a piece of cloth round their waist, and this serves as a belt and often as a turban when the sun is very warm. In this belt they wear the national weapon, the inseparable companion and the universal implement of the Gurkhas: the 'Khukri'. The Khukri is a large heavy and curved knife which measures about fifty centimetres between the point and the extremity of the handle. Khukri in hand, the Gurkha will cut and slice his adversaries mercilessly, will await firmly and slay the most formidable faun and will open himself with ease, a passage through the most dense jungle.

The wealthier classes wear the same cap, the same shoes, the same belt with the khukri; but their costume consists in a real trousers, which falls on the ankles, and fits tightly round the calf; the top of it is ample and flowing; it is tightened at the waist by means of a running-string; besides a kind of frock-coat with large flaps crossed over on the chest and exactly fitting on the bust; it closes by means of eight strings, four inside fixes the crossing four outsides fixes the turned, down flap. The frock-coat and the trousers are made of a light cotton cloth stitched double; inside is placed a padding of cotton-wool which varies in thickness according to taste; to fix the wadding, the two layers of cloth are brought together by means of diagonal stitching closely worked to one another- Under the frock-coat, they wear a short shirt which overflows at the neck. Often also, they wear over the frockcoat, a real dress-jacket, of European cut, and lined with Tibetan furs in winter.

The Gurkhas have adopted with the rites, the Hindu prejudices on marriage, The girls can be wedded after the age of seven and must be married before thirteen years of age. Contrary to the Nevars, the Gurkhas are of very jealous nature: The adulteress is punished with imprisonment for life, without reckoning with bastinades and other cruelties in which is satisfied the husband's vengeance. Up to the period of Jang Bahadur, the law allowed the outraged husband the trouble to chastise the wife; he was permitted to slay her with a stroke of the khukri, at all times and at all places, however old or doubtful was the offence. The police would not interfere in these cases of vengeance. To-day, the culprit is arrested, undergoes trial aad if found guilty, is made over to the husband who springs on her, khukri in hand, and slays her; however the culprit can escape, and to allow her a means of doing so, she is given the start of a few paces, but generally, the friends of the husband surround and knock her down by tripping her. The law also offers her another recource; she can save her life by accepting to cross under the leg of the husband; but at the same time she loses her caste and her honour. Such cowardice is almost without an exmple.

The women of the higher society live in general in the seclusion of the house and only show themselves on feast days at the temples and when on pilgrimages: entangled in their flowing skirts they are unable to walk ahd move about on the backs of men. Polygamy is universal; the lofty personages surround themselves, by affectation, with a well-filled seraglios (harem). The abuse of the (asphrodisiac) (drug exciting sexual desire) has had a

deplorable action on the development of the Gurkhas. The widows in confirmity with the Hindu law which the English have forbiddcn to be exercised in India, are authorized to ascend the conjugal pyre; the small monuments raised in honour of of the 'satis' are still everywhere met with. However, the custom is dying out; Jang Bahadur forbade the widows who had young children from throwing themselves on the funeral-pile, and the widow who weakens at the last moment can renounce her sacrifice without the parents gathered around obliging her to hold on to her agreement. A second marriage is naturally forbidden to the widows; The Brahmanic Law is inflexible on this point;but instead of the miserable and desperate condition that awaits them in India, they can contract an irregular marriage without dishonour in the Gurkha country.

In like proportion to the taste of the Nevars for society, the Gurkhas avoid it. He loves to live in a secluded house in the middle of a field, without any other occupation than the performance of religious ceremonies. "It is an unsolvable mystery, declares Dr. Wright, to understand what the Gurkhas amuse themselves with and spend their time upon. Their preferred distraction, is to hunt, in which they are very skilled and brave; but the pleasure can only be indulged in the Terrai during the Winter season.

The appreciations on their character, vary almost to contradiction. Hamilton, who lived a year among them in the beginning of the XIXth. century, describes a terrible narrative: "They are perfidious and treacherous, cruel and arrogant against the weaker ones, flatly lowly when they expect a favour. The higher classes pass the night in the company of men dancers, of women-dancers, of musicians, and women musicians and have quickly wrought their impotence by continual excesses. The morning is spent in sleep, and the afternoon in the accomplishment of rites, and there remains little time for their affairs and to instruct themselves. With the exception of a few Brahmans, they are drunkards and also exceptionally suspicious. "Three quaters of a century later, Dr. Wright does not judge them with less good-will or sympathy. "They have no affairs, excepting that of playing like soldiers; they have no open-air games, they have no literature to keep them busy at home. In fact, they have nothing to fill up their long hours of leisure; in consequence they abandon themselves to gossip, to game, to debauchery under every form. "In return, captain Vansittart appreciates and praises, as a soldier, the qualities of the Gurkha recruits. "Compared with the other Orientals, the Gurkhas are tough, enduring, faithful, honest, independent, have the courage of their opinion.... they disdain the natives of India and fraternize with the Europeans whom they admire for their superiority of knowledge, of force and courage and whom they endeavour to imitate... It may seem strange but it is an indubitable fact, that each year a great number of recruits enrol themselves solely with the purpose of learning to read, write and calculate in our schools for the regiments. "It is necessary to observe that Mr. Vansittart judges the nation through the humble recruits who annually come and got enrolled under the British colours and consisted more of native Magars and Gurungs, than of Thakurs and khas, whereas Dr. Wright had especially in view, the high Gurkha society of Nepal. I must, however, admit

that my impressions, in Nepal itself, have concorded with the sentiment of Mr. Vansittart. The unfavourable prejudices that I brought away from the plains, slowly vanished with the prolongation of my stay; and I was obliged to recognize that if the Gurkhas are in fact suspicious and distrustful, as they are credited with, in the official as well as in the private relations, the Europeans (and I do not only mention the English) have made the suspicion and the distrust, too Legitimate. Less refined and less gifted than the Nevars, they have in the highest sense that love for liberty and mother-land, two sentiments that India have not known. Their national hero, Prithivi Narayan, has set the example too easily followed by his descendants, of craft, of disloyalty, of perjury, of rapacity of cruelty; the geat men of Western politics have wrongly done him an injury. The Gurkha virtue pre-eminently is the military honour. "Rather death than an act of cowardice", says the proverb; and in fact a khas, who runs away before the enemy in a battle is expelled from his caste; he becomes a pariah, even his wife can no longer eat with him.

The khas are the basis of the Gurkha population; but it embodies other elements. The Brahmans of Gurkha have accompanied the victors of Nepal; they belong to the Kanyakubjuya clan, devoted to the cakta rites and recognize the authority of the Tantras. The erudites are scarce; astrology is the most cultivated science. They are divided into three categories separated by the gulf of marriage; the highest bears the title of 'Upadhyaya', they belong to the schools of Yajur Veda; they serve as 'gurus' (spiritual teachers) and as 'purohitas' (domestic chaplains) to the Brahmans and Rajputs. The first in dignity is the spiritual teacher of the king (Raja-guru) who is well versed in all the questions of the caste; a portion of the fines imposed on breaches of this nature, to be made over to him. He is furthermore, by virtue of pious donations, proprietor of the vast domains which he lets out on lease. His office or emloyment like all the functions in Nepal, is renewable every year; but unless it be for a scandal or a political revolution, he remains the chief for life. A few other Brahmans, related to great houses, also make considerable revenues. The others, who are greater in number, live especially by the sums the faithful distribute on the occasions of births, marriages, deaths, and great events. The Maharaja Deb Sham Sher who exercised an ephemeral power from the 3rd. of March to the 25th. June 1901 has celebrated his accession by a distribution of 1000 cows to the Brahmans.

The Upadhyayas eat goats, sheep, but refuse game- The two classes named 'Kamiya' and 'Puribi', serve as gurus and purohitas to the inferrior classes, but not the lowest. These ones go so far as to rear pigs and hens destined for their table.

Beneath in rank to the Brahman, but at a long distance, are classified the 'Jaisis'. In spite of the indentity in names, they totally differ from the Nevar Jaisis; these are issues of an union between a Brahman and a Nevar woman. The Gurkha jaisis are issues of illegitimate union between Upadhyaya Brahmans and widows of their caste; they are interested in agriculture and commerce and form a numerous class (harmonious ?).

The conquerors have also brought away from Gurkha, group of low castes, the services of which were indispensable. These

castes, even the vilest among them, down to the sweepers and the curriers, have a right, however, to the title of Gurkhas and pass for their masters for having come from Chitor. Their so-called Hindu origin gives to a certain extent, a more solid base to the pretensions of the military clans. The first of these classes to stand out in dignity is that of the 'khvas' or 'khavas', slaves or royal freed- men who are the confidential men of business of the palace; this is the employment they were already holding, as they say, at Chitor. The bastards of the royal family, the children born of a Thakur and a woman-slave are ranked in that caste. One must be careful in not mixing up the Khavas with the ketas or Kamaras (Karmakaras') who are ordinary slaves. Slavery as a matter of fact, is one of the institutions of Nepal; the number of slaves reach the total of from twenty to thirty thousand. The growth is due to various causes; some are born in servitude, some also, in punishment for a crime have been degraded and sold; others, and the more numerous have been sold; by needy parents. The parents, at first attempt to sell them to people of good castes who respect the obligations of the castes of their slaves; if they do not succeed, they resign themselves to sell them to pariahs or heathens. The child looses his caste from then, but the parents preserve their own, unless they take back in their home their child, even if he be freed-slave. The price of a slave for a boy varies, from 150 to 200 francs, for a girl between 200 and 300. The girl slaves, even those of the queen are all legally prostitutes; their masters allow them most sparing food, and leave them to provide for their clothes with their own resources. A slave who has a child from her master, can claim her freedom-

After the khvas comes the 'Nai' (Napita) the barber, who still belongs to the pure castes, on this side of the water, and on the other side are;

The 'Kami' (Karmi), smith;
The 'Damai', tailor and musician;
The 'Sarki', tanner and shoe-maker
The 'Bhat', or Bhanr, musician who prostitutes his wife;
The 'Gain', wandering singer;
The 'Dhobi' washerman or (Woman).

These castes have men of the same castes for priests. All the Gukhas speak the khas or Parbatiya language[14].

Parbatiya, derived from parbata or parvata, mountain, is the name of all the mountaineers of Nepal, who, without being Gurkhas also pretend to be of Hindu origin. The khas or Parbatiya (this last name is the more usual) is better than all the legends and the genealogies for the convincing testimony of the Hindu emigration to the mountains. Its construction, and also its vocabulary are eight tenths exactly identical to Hindi, the language of the Hindus of Delhi, Agra and Benares. Introduced by the emigrants from India, it has expelled the Tibetan dialects from the valleys and spread already over the whole of the lower Himalayas, to the West of Nepal, in the time of Prithvi Narayan. The Gurkha conquest has introduced it in the central valley, where the Nevari is deeper rooted than its neighbours, still holds it in check; but the centralization of the Government assures its triumph: it is the language of the rare schools and also of official communications; if it is not yet spoken everywhere, it is more or less understood from one end to the other of the kingdom; the Gurkha soldiers have carried it to the frontier of Sikkhim, on the outskirts of Darjeeling.

The Gurkha nation comprises, besides two ancient races which Prithivi Narayan and his successors have associated with the fortunes of their weapons, but who, admi tted under caution in the Hindu society, have nct yet received any employment thither; they are the Magars and the Gurungs. The Magars have been associated with the khas from an old date; The khas and the Magars appear at the same time in the history of Nepal; about the XIVth century.

Their origin is clearly Tibetan, their features and their language, less modified than those of the Nevars, reveals at the first glance their lineage with the Mongolian races. Established from a long time between the 'Hills of Gres' and the lofty valleys; in the valley of the seven Gandakis around Palpa as centre, they were the first to come in contact with the Rajputs who were fleeing before the Musulman invasion; they welcomed them amicably, detained and eventually accepted them as their chiefs. Most of the Khas, otherwise the Thakurs, have in reality Magar blood in their veins. The Magars were originally, like all the Himalayan scions, of the Tibetan race, great eaters of flesh and great drinkers of alcohol. The first among them who converted themselves to Hinduism did not do otherwise, undoubtedly, than to renounce eating the flesh of the cow, and earned by that sacrifice the title of Ksatriyas or Khas by the Brahmans. The movement of conversion has not stopped from spreading; but the Brahmans, less conciliating ever since they became the stronger, refused to the new proselytes the advantages granted to their predecessors. The Magars who are not Khas have no right yet to the Brahmanic string; Most of the clans are divided into two branches which bear the same name in common, but one of them converted to the title of Khas from an old date; the other, recently converted, even sometimes rebellious against Hinduism, continues to bear an indigenous designation joined to the name of the clan, thus, for example, the Thapas Khas, who play so considerable a part in the contemporary history of Nepal and the Thapas Rangus. To console themselves, the new proselytes take up the most haughty names of the Hindu nobility: Surajbansi, Chandrabansi, etc. (Race of the Sun, Race of the Moon), but these are pure fancy names. Their language, more and more mixed with elements borrowed from the khas, tends to rapidly disappear in face of the Gurkha language[15].

The Gurungs are a pastoral race, of the same origin as the Magars and the Nevars and who speak a language of the same family; but established in the lofty valleys to the North of the Magars, they have been less impregnated with the Hindu influences. Their stature is splendid; the two gurung regiments of the Gurkha army only recruit men above five feet six inches in height; they surpass the Magars and the khas in height and vigour. They still have lamas for priests and adore the Buddhistic gods in their valleys; but in the Hindu country they have rccourse to the Brahmans for their religious ceremonies and invoke the Brahmanic pantheon.

Political, Judiciary and Economic Organization.

The history of the institutions is divided into two periods; The Nevar period and the Gurkha period. The Nevar period extends from the early periods of positive history to the year 1768, which marks the complete ruin of the old indigenous dynasties; it covers a space of twelve or thirteen centuries. The inscriptions which are strewn

at unequal intervals on this long series of years, are nearly the only useful documents, the chronicle hardly takes an interest in the souvenirs of the religious tradition. Even the inscription furnish indirect information; they commemorate in general public or private endowments, donations of lands and concessions of privileges. The Capuchin missionaries who evangelized Nepal in the XVIIIth. century could have gathered precious informations on the administration of the country before the Gurkha conquest, but their zeal preferred to remain closed up in a work of barren predicament.

I do not claim that the political institutions have remained unchangeable during a period of thirteen centuries. The country is sometimes partitioned among several kings, sometimes cut up ad infinitum into feudal principalities. The first of historical dynasties, the Licchavis, flatter themselves of being related to the glorious clan which governed the most prosperous city of India, in the days of Buddha, Vaishali, but the Licchavis of Nepal had not copied the oligarchical constitution of the ancient metropolis, with its singular elective and annual royalty. Royalty is hereditary and is handed down from father to son. The King bears the still modest title of "Bhattaraka Maharaja", King Sovereign. He is surrounded by turbulent and refractory barons (samantas) who only agree to recognize him as 'primus inter pares' and who profit by each favourable opportunity to refuse him homage. The king is compelled to enforce his authority. The founder of the Thakuri, Amshuvarma, is satisfied with the title of "maha-samanta" "Grand Marquis" modified equivalent of 'Maharaja'; but his successor Jisnu Gupta bestows on him already the pompous title of 'bhattaraka maharajadhiraja' "Sovereign king of kings" and the title thus swollen, swells up again eventually; from the beginning of the VIIIth. century, the king is officially designated as the "supreme master, the 'supreme Sovereign, the king of kings'" 'parameshvara parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja'.

The exaggeration of these titles does not reach a falsehood; the princes of that period lived in great style and really cut the figure of kings. The Chinese relations describe to us the palace of Narendra deva in the middle of the VIIth. century, as splendid, dazzling with copper ornaments, decorated and carved designedly, erected (set off) with pearls and precious stones; in the centre rises a high tower of seven stories, which forms artificial fountains at its base. The king himself wears expensive attires, gold earrings and jade pendants and amber jewels also coral, mother-of pearl and rock crystal jewel-He sits on a throne supported on lions; around him flowers and perfumes are strewn. The great men and the officers sit on the floor to the right and left; hundreds of armed soldiers are drawn up around. A little earlier, in the beginning of the VIIth. century, Shivadeva had erected a palace with nine stories.

The "personnel" of the royal family is at least partly enumerated in an inscription of Amshuvarma, dated in the year 625 J. C, and which seems connected with the coronation ceremony of this prince. At the head appears the great "Inspector of armies" mahabaladhyaksa; then the "superintendent of donations", prosadadhikrta ; then at a short distance the "bearer of the

fly-flap" 'camara-dhara'; "The standard bearer" dhvaja-manusya; the "supplier of drinking water" 'paniya-karmantika'; the inspector of the seat (royal) "pithadhyaksa"; the 'bearer of Puspa-Pataka" 'puspa-pataka-vaha; the "drum and blower of the conch" 'nandishankha-vada; and even the "sweepress" 'sammarjayitri'. Other inscriptions of the same period also name the "commander-in-chief" 'sarvadanda-nayak'; the "great bailiff" 'Mahapratihara' the "minister of the worships" 'dharmarajika-matya; the "spiritual director", 'guru'.

In face of the king and the court, exposed to the vicissitudes of revolutions which sweep at times a dynasty and its supporters, the population retains an immutable organization in its traditional temper. Whether the Thakuris supersede the Licchavis or the Mallas ascend the throne, whether the sovereign power is in the hands of an emperor or is dispersed among the rival chiefs, the commune (inhabitants) ,grama', remains always in the eyes of the people the real and only political unity, in Nepal as well as in India. The Indian village forms a republic by itself, an administrative system regular and complete, under the direction of the mayor (patta-kila, grama-kuta, grama-pali, pradhana), generally assisted by the secretary, keeper, chief of irrigation who regulates the supply of water between the fields, astrologer (jyotisa, josi) who determines the periods of cultivation and who knows those days that are auspicious or inauspicious. The needs of the village also demand as integral elements a carpenter, a blacksmith, a potter, a washerman, a barber; the school principal and the jeweller are utilities without indispensable characters. The master of the houses ('kutumbin'), whether he be house proprietor (grihin) or field proprietor ('kestrin') are the citizens of this elementary state. The sovereign administration only interferes in questions of revenue and criminal justice or in affrays between several villages. The villages of Nepal are grouped in the ancient period into districts (adhikarana); western district ('paccimadhikarana'). Northern district (? kubervati') etc., under the administration of crown officers (adhikrta') who seem to exercise the functions of farmers-general (of revenues) (vrttibhuj, vartta'). These officers command forces of armed police (catabhata) whose assistance are extended for the execution of orders. But tradition, are stern and better respected than a charter, forbids the township (commune) from overriding the central power. The officers and the kings police can only penetrate on communal territory for the levy of revenue ('karasadhana') to hand over written documents (lekhyadana') to instruct on the five great crimes which are directly associated with the sovereign justice (panchaparadha).

In a country almost exclusively agricultural as in Nepal and the whole of India, the principal revenue of the king is the land-tax. The nature of the distribution is not clearly indicated in the inscriptions. In the days of the Licchavis, it seems that the unit of valuation which was adopted was the plough (gohala') viz. the surface which a peasant can cultivate with a pair of bulls. The corresponding monetary unit is the (Karsapana' (about 3gr. 80 of silver, according to the estimation generally agreed); it is divided into 16 'panas'. The state receives two other taxes on the land; the 'simha (?)-kara' aad the 'malla-kara', which fixes

both of them the amount of 4 'panas' of copper (4 x 9gr. 1/2 about) on the "plough". The king further receives a portion (bhaga) of the harvests (the $\frac{1}{6}$, the $\frac{1}{8}$ the $\frac{1}{12}$, according to the rules), he derives a tax on objects of luxury (bhoga), on gold (hiranaya). This is the sum total of the three taxes (trikara'). Lastly the village is bound down to certain annual presentations of services, such for example, it must furnish bearers for the transport into Tibet (Bhotta-visti').

Royalty is not attached to these privileges with a refractory jealousy; it sometimes parts with them for the benefit of a divinity or of a temple, or even in exchange for other obligations. Most of our inscriptions register transaction of this nature. The formulary expressly defines the relations of the king with the commune; it is the paternal administration allayed with despotism, which the East in general has known and practised. The king addresses his decree directly "to the heads of the house of the village in following the order of precedence" he enquired about their health and does not fail to inform them that he is quite well himself. Most often, the king designates a missus dominicus (dutaka) selected among the principal officials, to supervise the execution of his will; it is even, in a great many cases the Heir-apparent (yuvaraja) who is invested with the royal edict.

Through all the transformations, the commune testifies to its persistent vitality. The groupings in which it is mixed willy-nilly, break up by the turn of events; it always survives. When the growing prosperity of Nepal opened large towns thither which swallowed once separated communes, within their walls, the new towns continue to form an agglomeration of small states; no sooner does the central powers weaken then the town breaks up in districts, in independent clusters. During the whole of the middle ages, Kathmandu is divided among twelve kings, the other capital, patan, has as many kings as 'tols' (cluster of houses). The Nepalese Empire is for a while reconstituted with Yaksa Malla, in the XVth. century; after him, the valley is cut up in three kingdoms which are envious of one another and plague and fight together until the arrival of the Gurkhas.

Even under the administration of the Mallas who pretend being a consistent dynasty, the transmission of power does not happen sometimes without collision. Towards the year 1600, the people of Kathmandu, tired of the debaucheries of king Sada Shiva, expelled him with the cudgel from the throne and the kingdom. A few years before the Gurkha conquest, the six notable citizens (Pradhanas) of Patan put out the eyes of king Rajya Prakasha, refused to open the gates of the town to king Jaya Prakasha who went out on a promenade and execute king Vishvajit with their own hands. In case of accidental vacation or escheat, the procedures in usage vary. When the lineage of Amshuvarma is found extinct, at the close of the VIIIth. century, the Thakuris of Nayakot cross over the mountain, descend into Nepal and they elect one among them as king. It is a privilege which appears to be their escheated existence as the same is to the noblest and purest clan of the country. After the invasion of Mukunda Sena towards the XIIIth. century, when the country in a state of

upheaval, succumbs to war, plague anarchy, the Thakuris of Nayakot re-apper; the little kings who at the time share among themselves the towns and villages of the country are all the members of this clan. At Kathmandu, when Sada Shiva was expelled "the people" designated a successor. At Patan; the choice of the king seems to rest with the notables ('Pradhanas') who represent the nobility.

The great discrepancies in the Epigraphy, which no other document can fill up, prevent the study of the history of the institutions in the middle age. The inscriptions take new life with the dynasty of the numerous Mallas, it is true, for the more recent period, but stuffed with stilted literature and almost bare of facts. The Sanskrit is only a school language, useful for the construction of centos or imitations; the real and positive notes are expressed in the indigenous lauguage, the Nevari, and the study of the epigraphy in Nevari still remains to be created. It is necessary to reach the Gurkha period to discover useful documents.

The Gurkha conquest upsets the traditional 'regime' of Nepal. The new chieftains of the country, jealous of their authority, are not disposed to share it with anybody; they break up all resistances, absorb the principalities and baronies and instal in place of the ancient partition, a strong and resolutely centralized government. It is difficult to study its exact and detailed working, I have already mentioned the reasons against it.

The jealous and suspicious independence of the Gurkhas, gets alarmed and frightened at the least indiscretion; the curiosity of the traveller, who so easily wears an air of espionage in Europe, does not stand out markedly in Nepal. Each one believes himself willingly responsible for the machine of the state; it is held as a duty to screen them from profane or evil-wishing looks, it is all one. The replies to questions asked are enveloped with reticence or overflow to lead one in error. The wisest thing is still to gather up the informations obtained by those whose situation or resources placed them in a position to instruct themselves and observe Kirkpatrich, Hamilton, Hodgson, Cavenagh, Wright. None of them, it is true, has traced a description of the whole, and the notes which are borrowed from them, if placed end to end, turn out incorrect or contradictory, since they are connected to vastly different periods, from the regency of Bahadur Shah to the dictatorship of Jang Bahadur. The description which I undertake will then be forcibly subject to untrustworthiness on more than one point.

Royalty is hereditary. The king is the legitimate descendant of Prithvi Narayan and of the ancient Gurkha kings. He bears the title of 'Maharajadhiraja' "king above great kings" abbreviated in the colloquial to the from of Dhiraj'. In principle he possesses absolute power. However, tradition confers a right of remonstrance on thirty six chiefs of clans, named Thargars' (inhabitant of nests); these clans who pretent some to be ksatriyas and others Brahmanic, have their fief situated in the patrimonial domain of Prithvi Narayan. It is between them, that the govetnment must share the principal employments but all have not equal rights; they form a hierarchy with three different stages, the highest

group in dignity comprises six families who receive by reason of their number the name of 'Chattra', The Chattras have a kind of right of preference for the first employments of the kingdom. In the days of kirkpatrick, the Thargars passed as authorized defenders of the dynastic interests; If they thought these interests in danger, their duty and their right went so far as to enable them to overthrow the reigning prince and to give him a more worthy successor. The most powerful clans of the Chattras in the days of Hamilton, were the Panres ('Pande') and the Vishwanaths ('Vishwanatha'). But the real authority of the Thargars has disappeared for a long time, with the real authority of the kings. In 1843, when the intrigues of the king, heir-apparent, and queen seemed to precipitate the state into ruin, the Chieftains and the officers of the army took the initiative of the Petition of Rights' which was signed by the ministers, officers, and the municipal corporations of the valley and taken to the palace by a large delegation. The king welcomed and signed the chart which was brought to him and which guaranteed to all subjects of the crown their elementary rights too often violated.

In fact the king is only a sort of entity to-day, a nominal fiction, the only representative of the country recognized by the foreign powers. His red seal (lal mohar) is necessary to give an official value to diplomatic documents, but his action is void. Since the son and the successor of Prithvi Narayan, an implacable fatality bears on the throne either children of small or young age or princes already emasculated by precocious debauchery; enclosed in their palace by the party in power, they are rigorously kept away from real life and public affairs. Their rare outings, when they are permitted, are watched by reliable agents who do not allow anybody to approach them and which increase their worries, under the plea of vain and vague dangers, to bring them to a state of voluntary confinement by persuasion.

For just an awakening of the king, even should it last a few moments, can annihilate the party most solidly encamped in power. Nepal is, every year, on the eve of legal revolution. All the employments are annual; beginning from the prime minister to the humblest soldier, all await the 'paijni' or panjani' which must either confirm or reject them brutally from the service of the state. This ceremony which periodically accompanies the festival of the Dussera (or Dasain, in September-October) grants beforehand an initial delegation of the royal rights. The great Council is at first constituted, as an immediate emanation of the royal authority; and it is he who reviews the conduct of officials, pronounces on their fate, distributes rewards and punishments. The strongest party at the time of the Paijni is then duty bound and capable of clearing the board of others; it is free to fill up exclusively all the employments with its only members and show no fault whatever.

Under the first successors of Prithvi Narayan, the Great Council, named 'Bharadar' comprised twelve membere: A 'Chautra" or "Chautrariya" four 'Kajis',four Sirdars', two 'Khardars' one 'Kapardar'. The 'Chautra'

or 'Chautariya' was a parent of the king who carried out the functions of prime minister, and especially of controller General. It was to him that was transmitted all the written or verbal communications, dealing with the conduct of the civil and military 'personnel'. The four 'Kajis' had no particular attribution; they received a general delegation of the king to intervene or act in all cases deemed necessary, in war as in peace time. As an emblem of their power, they retained the royal seal. The 'Sirdars' differing from the Chautras and the kajis, could be chosen regardless of birth; they exercised the great military commands. The 'Khardars' were the secretaries of the state, entrusted with the correspondence and the chancellery. The 'Kapardar' was the minister of the king's house.

This organization of the Bharadar has disappeared since long time. The powers, successively conferred on Damodar Panre, on Bhim Sen, on Jang Bahadur, have made a dictator of the prime minister. From one Panjani to another, he is the absolute chief. Since 1856, he is entitled to the title of 'maharaja' and it is by this name that he is usually nominated. The maharaja is the chief of an immense syndicate of interests which embody his family, his customers, his most humble and distant proteges. He has all the powers, civil and military; he commands the army, he renders justice; he distributes employments. He must hold out against opposition parties, who are always on the look-out for the hour of revenge, against rival ambitions which are even unchained in his own family, lastly the intrigues of the harem engaged around the king, and which aims at supreme power. In order to strengthen himself against so many enemies, the maharaja selects the women of the king in the most reliable families, particularly among his own daughters as did Jang Bahadur; and at each Panjani, he calls to public employments only the most devoted servants.

Among the Gurkhas, the service of the State is almost mixed up with the military service. The profession of weapons is the only one worthy of a true Gurkha; artisans, traders, peasants are human cattle which serves towards the existence of the army. Excluding the Nevars, always suspicious and held at a distance, the army is open to all the castes. Thus, each year, at the panjani, the applicants do not fail and the choice is easy. In principle, every Nepalese subject owes one year's military service to the king but the number of men procured would be above the needs; besides, the system of recruiting by selection offers more guarantee to the authority. During his year of service the soldier or officer receives a salary which is not paid in ready money, but is paid by a grant of land (Jagir'); an ordinary soldier of the lowest rank receives a jagir of 100 rupees; a captain of first rank, a jagir of 4000 rupees; The superior grades are reserved to the parents of the maharaja; his brothers, his sons, his nephews are colonels, lieutenant generals, generals, commanders-in chief, without consideration of age or merit; these titles entitle them to high emoluments and further a regular gift which is due to them by all their subordinates.

The number of men in regular service is estimated at from 25000 to 30000; but it is easy, in case of need, to immediately double this number by calling on those men who have been granted leave (dakria')

after a year's service. In 1854, Nepal in her campaign against Tibet placed on foot 27000 men of the regular army, 29000 armed coolies and 390000 carriers of baggage. The men at one time were placed pell-mell in the regiments without distinction of origin; but Jang Bahadur has inaugurated the system of homogenous battalion, Rajputs, Gurungs, Magars, Kirats, etc. The regiments are named by the name of a divinity or illustrious soldier. The service uniform generally consists of a blue cotton tunic and a pyjama of the same colour; the full uniform for great occasions, consists of a red cloth tunic and a dark coloured trousers with a red band down the trousers-leg. For head-dress, a close-fitting cap which encases the skull; around this is wrapped very tightly a turban which bears, pinned on, in the fashion of our pompous, a silver plate, circular, oval in crossing, according to the regiments, the non-commissioned officers add a little chain to it, and the officers, precious stones and feathers according to their rank. The head-dress of the maharaja, ornamented with pearls in pendants is credited with being worth more than 300000 francs (£ 12000). The rifles are of the Enfield or Martini-Henry make, manufactured in the Nepalese arsenals or of European origin, and smuggled into Nepal. All the soldiers are besides armed with the national weapon, the 'khukri'. The artillery is numerous; the cannons are manufactured by machine in the arsenal at Kathmandu. Cavenagh asserts that Nepal owes her technical knowledge in artillery to French Officers engaged under hand hy the Government. Patan and Bhadgaon are each the seat of one division; Bhadgaon possesses an arsenal like Kathmandu. The cavalry is comprised in a handful of Pathans (Afghans) at the maharaja's service.

The English authors mention as the essential weaknesses of the Gurkha army, the absence of a commissariat, the defect of rifles and cannons, the bad preparation of Gun-powder, the childish character of the exercises (drills); borrowed from the English army, but only recognized as a review-drill without any practical application, lastly but especially, the deplorable shortage of the high command. But all give homage to the valour of the soldiers, to their endurance, to their heroism, proved by so many battles; well commanded they would be invincible on their own soil. Without accumulating testimonies paid to their valour by the best of judges, it suffices to observe that the Anglo-Indian Government has cared to assure itself of their services. The Indian army actually embodies 15 Gurkha regiments which make a total of 14000 men. Hodgson since 1832 mentioned in a famous report what benefit the Government of India could derive from these valuable recruits: confined in Nepal without employment, without profit, the military tribes could not help but provoke an explosion; admited in the Indian army, under the leadership of British officers, they would easily find the opportunity of satisfying war-like tastes to the profit of England.

It needed eighteen years for Hodgson to triumph over the timorous minds who refused to believe in the loyalism of Gurkhas; in 1850, Lord Dalhousie authorized the formtion of three regiments. And since "for a quarter of a century, wherever a great stroke was to be dealt in India, wherever honour was to be gained, the Gurkha regiments have appeared in the foremost line[16] . Only recently, the Gurkha contingent has figured brilliantly among the troops of the expedition to China.

The civil functions are reduced to a small matter: the Government of the provices is naturally given to the parents of the maharaja who evercises at the same time the civil and military powers. The tax-gatherer, "soubahs", are in general farmer-generals who deal directly with the state. The principal civil functions are the judiciary ones.

The spiritual director of the king, the 'Raja Guru' (Rajguru') knows all the infringements which entail a legal or religious impurity, pronounces the verdicts and receives a moiety of the fines, in the title of 'Dharmadhikari' "Prefect of the Law". If the affair concerns the Shivaites or the Hindoos, he refers to the "Shastra", viz, to the works of later dates which are supposed to have been founded on the ancient codes: Manu, Yagnavalkya, etc., if it concerns Nevars or Tibetans, he follows the procedures established in the days of Jaya Sthiti Malla (XVth. century).

Four courts pass judgement at Kathmandu on civil and criminal affarrs: The 'kot Linga' exercises the highest jurisdiction. Appendant courts settle all controversies in connection with military salaries or land cases. Each one of the courts is presided over by a 'ditha' who is not a civilian trained for the profession but whose respectability is well known. He is assisted by two 'bicaris' (vicarin) who are reputed to know the laws and procedures and who proceed to make investigation examinations, to all the neccessary formalities. The ditha pronounces his verdict after this; but the condemned prisoner can always appeal to the king, viz; in fact to the maharaja who pronounces the final verdict, or who designates a commission especially instructed to examine the case and to report thereon. Justice has the great merit of being quick. There in no public action. The complainant appears in court, lays a complaint; soldiers afterwards proceed to arrest the accused in his residence. The parties discuss freely in the presence of the judges, without the intervention of barristers, mention their witnesses, furnish their proofs. The avowal of the accused is essential to end up in a condemnation; if in spite of crushing accusation, he persists in denying, the judges have recourse to threats, and even to positive violences: bastinade, whipping etc. If all these means fail, the prisoner is confined in a sort of preventive imprisonment for life.

On the request of the parties, the court can transmit the case to an assembly of ordinary individuals chosen by the person asking for it and the one defending himself, and where the State can be represented; this is the "Panchayat". The Panchayat is a jurisdiction of conciliation which disposed of no means of coercion and which is pleased to submit an advice to the court; then again, this advice must be expressed unanimously. The members of Panchayat must be chosen in five Gurkhas clans or five Nevar clans specified exactly, conformably to the affair concerning Gurkhas or Nevars.

Lastly, if the case presents insoluble difficulties, or if the parties express the desire, with the previous consent of the king; it is proceeded to proof by water.

The names of the respective parties are traced on two slips of paper which are rolled and then worshipped (puja). Each one of the parties pays a tax of one rupee. The balls are then made fast to the stems of reeds. New payment of two annas. The stems are made over to the court who carry them to the Ranees Tank (Rani pokhri); a bicari, a Brahman and the parties follow them, also two individuals of the lowest caste ('Chamakallak' or 'Camar'); On reaching the tank, the bicari tries to persuade the parties to have recourse to other means before submitting to the ordeal. If the parties are determined to ask for the proof, the two sergeants each carry a stem, one goes to the East and the other to the West side of the tank and enter the water half way up the leg. In their turn the Brahman, the parties, the Camars enter a little in the water; the Brahman worships Varuna in the name of the parties and recites a sacred text with appeals to surya (Sun), Chandra (Moon), Varuna (God of Waters) and Yama (God of the dead), who can read the thoughts of the living. The rite completed, the Brahman marks the camars on the forehead and says to them; "Let the champion of truth triumph and the champion of insincerity lose". Then the Brahman and the parties come out of the water and the camars go each separately to the place where the stems stand out; they enter into the deep water and at a signal plunge at the same time. The first who emerges, the stem and ball nearest to him is destroyed. The other stem is brought in, the ball is opened and the name is read out; it is the name of the winner. Winner and loser have still to pay the one and the other a series of taxas[17] .

The practice of ordeals has been introduced or at least increased by the Gurkhas, amateurs of clear solutions or further superstitions. The ancient jurisprudence was content with placing one on oath, on the Harivamca for the Hindus, on the Panch-raksa for the Buddhists or rather under his books, because the sacred text was placed on the head of the person who swore.

Outside Kathmandu, at Bhatgaon, Patan, in the provinces sit judges of inferior rank who are considered as the delegates of the bicaris and the dithas of the capital. But, whatever be their competency, there are five crimes that escape them and which exclusively belong to the immediate jurisdiction of the king; this is what they call, in an Indo-Arabic term, the 'panch-khat' and which the ancient descriptions denominate panchaparadha; the murder of a Brahman ('Brahma hatya'); the murder of a cow (go hatya'); the murder of a woman (stri hatya); the murder of a child (bala hatya); the faults that entail the loss of the caste ('patki: anciently, 'maha pataka'[18]).

The ancient list of penalties opened with five great chastisements: confiscation of properties, banishment of the family; degradation of the family handed over to the lowest of tribes; mutilation; decapitation. The Gurkhas had added therein the hanging and the flaying alive. Regarding women, their noses were usually cut off. The author of an important theft had his hand cut off; in a case of second offence, the other hand was cut off. Jang Bahadur has ameliorated this barbarous code: Capital punishment was only served on those who murdered a man or a cow. The majority

of crimes and faults was punished by fine, to the profit of the judges and the State.

In order to sustain the heavy expenditures of military state, Nepal has in store very modest revenues. In 1792, Kirkpatrick estimated the revenue at from 25 to 30 lakhs (hundreds of thousand) of rupees. 3 or 4 lakhs procured by the customs, the duties on salt, tobacco, pepper, the betel nut and the sale of the elephants from Terai: 7 or 8 lakhs, by the mintage; 15 to 18 lakhs by the monopolies (salt, saltpetre), the copper and iron mines and the landtaxes. Before the Gurkha invasion the revenue were superior, because the copper in Nepal was not yet outcassed and expelled from the markets of Hindustan by the copper from Europe; Tibet exported to Nepal quantities of gold and silver which returned in Tibet as coined specie, leaving or allowing the Mallas a considerable profit.

In 1875, Dr. Wright estimated the revenue at 96 lakhs of rupees (about two and a half millions of francs), (the rupee may be worth 5 francs to-day-1920-June-but at the time spoken of, it was worth less than 2 francs and therefore 96 lakhs of rupees represented an equivalent of nearly 16 million francs) procured especially by the land-tax, the Customs; the product of forests of calas (teak wood) from the Terai, and the monopolies of the State (salt, tobacco, ivory, building wood).

The ingenious system of the annual 'jagirs' permits the Gurkha to compensate the shortage of the metallic curreney. Like the the salary of the army, the civil stipends are paid in grants of land. Each year at the panjani, the king as absolute proprietor of the land bestows on the servants he employs or whom he maintians a fief the extent and value of which naturally vary with the importance of function; the year spent out, the fief returns to the king who again disposes of it according to his wishes. These fiefs bear the Persian name of 'jagirs', and the privileged are called 'jagirdars'. The government avoids as much as possible the possibility of a fief remaining in the same jagirdar's possession for more than a year, so as to better mark the temporary character of the concession, prevent the attachment of the individual to the soil and to remind the omnipotence of the king. Most of the time, the stipends are paid exclusively in jagirs; in certain cases, the treasury pays a supplement in metallic currency. The jagirs do not only replace the salaries; it is also substituted for pensions. The widows, orphans of the servants of the State receive jagirs partitioned out with the severest equity. The jagir can comprise only a field or include a whole town. The town of Sankon, to the N. E. of the valley, is the jaghir of the first Queen (Maharani'); in the days of Hamilton, the revenue was estimated at 4000 rupees.

Supplementary sources of revenue can be added to the jagirs. The officers receive a royal commission which authorizes them to administer justice and inflict penalties to the amout of 100 rupees on peasants established on their lands; the temptation is too strong for an injustice not to be on strict justice. But the appeals of the victims to the maharaja provoke from time to time striking disgraces which recalls to

duty the over-excited lusts. The judges, also, receive conjointly with the State fixed duties on judiciary affairs and cases. According to kirkpatrick, the chantra chautariya (prime minister) received besides his jagir, a duty of eight annas on each rice field, the Thargar's lands and those belonging to soldiers being exempt from this payment; the Kajis shared among them a duty of one rupee per field; the four Sirdars received each two annas for each field, the two Khardars equally received two annas each for field; The superintendent of the coinage derived on his due an enormous duty of 7 tolas of gold on each Nepalese merchant settled in Tibet and who entered the country. Hamilton mentions another distribution: The chief of the state received two thirds of the revenues; the remaining third was shared out by the great officers; the chautariya received one fifth; the Kaji received as much and the eldest son of the king a similar amount; the first queen if she had any children also received an equal amount; the last one fifth of this third portion went to the sirdars, to the counsellor (jethabudha') to the Secretary. The dharmadhikari continues to receive the fines he imposes on questions of legal purity.

The distribution of jagirs, in order to be equitable had to rely on a well drawn up register of the survey of lands. And in fact, the Mallas have handed down to the Gurkhas "an admirable system of register of the survey of lands, which would do honour to the British Government of India." Tradition attributes this great work to Jaya Sthiti Malla. The lands were then divided into four classes and their worth determined by the number of 'karkhas' or 'ropanis' they contained. For the fourth class, the ropani was 125 haths (arm's length) in circumference; for the third class, 112 haths; for the second 99 haths; for the first, 95 haths. The length of the 'hath' was fixed to 24 times the length of the first phalanx of the thumb. The land-surveyor's pole was at one time 10-1/2 haths in length; Jaya Sthiti Malla reduced it to 7-1/2 haths. An analogous operation was worked on the framed up land or lands to be framed; they were divided into three classes, according to their being situated in the heart of a town, or in a road or rutway. The 'kha' was adopted as a unity of measures. For the first class land, the kha had 85 haths in circumference; for the second class 95; for the third, 101. The surveyors of crops formed the caste of the 'ksetra karas'; the surveyors of lands to be worked on, formed the caste of the 'Taksa karas'.

Thus the unity of measure is not a unity of area, but a unity of value. In fact, the prices assigned to the four categories of lands for cultivation varied for the same area, according to the classes, as 1: 0.87: 0.83: 0.76; for built lands or about to be built on, as 1:0.89:0.84. The reduction of the surveying perch from 10-1/2 to 7-1/2 arm's lengths proves that since the institution of that measure up to the time of Jaya Sthiti Malla, the value of the lands had increased by one fourth (10-1/2: 7-1/2–1.4 :1). Towards 1792, Bahadur Shah, regent during the minority of Rana Bahadur, gave orders for the framing up of a new register of the survey of lands; the results were kept a secret; but the nation, to whom an affair of this nature is always suspicious, did not fail to attribute the sudden disgrace of regent, in

1795, to the sin he had committed "by wishing to measure the boundaries of the land. Bahadur Shah was content with applying the method of the Mallas; the value of the lands was also estimated in ropnis; an average of twenty five ropnis made a field 'khet,' (ksetra) on good lands, they made use of a pole 7-1/2 arm's length's long; it was the pole of Jaya Sthiti Malla; on bad lands, the pole had a length of 9-1/2 arm's lengths. The same estimation, on lands of the second category granted then, an area of a fourth more.

The field, 'khet', is the unity of payment in use, in the grants of Jagirs. A khet is a land of first qnality well watered by streams or rivulets, with a fertile soil and which yields for an average amount of attention, all the grains of superior quality. The khet lands are especially situated in valleys, but many are also found on the plateaux. The average yield of the khet, taken as a unit of value, is 100 'muris' of rice in husks (nearly 7000 kilograms) estimated at about 150 rupees; the area naturally varies with the quality of the land.

The holder of the jagir, the jagirdar, is free to exploit by himself the land that is granted to him; but in general his occupations and his taste equally direct him elsewhere. He makes it over to a farmer who pays him half the products, and who further pays him a duty of two or three rupees per khet. The jagir can include, besides khets, lands of the 'kohrya' or 'barhi' (category, viz; that they are not watered by streams or running water. Such a land demands a great deal of attention and yields little; only inferior quality grains can be made to grow, just good enough for the farmer or the low castes. The metayer of the jagirdar only pays on these lands a duty in proportion to the number of ploughings.

Besides the annual jagirs, certain lands, (birtas') are conceded in porpetual donation, but rarely, and almost exclusively to Bahmans, the reason being that the king is desirous of expiating a sin by a pious act or desirous of rewarding a devotee or a picked savant; in the first case, the land cannot return to the crown and if it falls in escheat, it is made over to the temple of Pashupati or Changu Narayan; in the second case, the crown takes back the land in the absence of heirs. The ceremony of donation is exactly in conformation with the traditional style: They bring to the king a lump of earth brought from the conceded land, the king waters it, mixes sacred herb with it (kusha) and sesamum whi'st a priest utters formulae and he makes it over to the donee and also receives most often a chart graved on copper (tamra pattra'). The lands conceded in this way are named (kusha-birtas'; they are exempt from charges, are transferable and hereditary; but certain crimes entail the forfeiture. There are kusha-birtas that date back to the reign of the Mallas and that the Gurkhas have confirmed by the affixing of the red seal, in return for a duty in proportion. Besides, the beneficiary of such a gift does not fail when the occasion arises to secure to his title of ownership a further guarantee, by offering a convenient present to the king; the formality is almost customary on the accession of a new king. A few Nevars have obtained by an exceptional favour of the Gurkha kings, the privilege of being confirmed in the possession of lands conceded by the

Mallas on the same conditons as the kusha-birtas; but the confirmation must in this case be renewed at each accession and in payment of a high duty.

The immediate domains of the crown, dispersed all over the kingdom, are some rented to metayers (farmers), others directly exploited; the work is procured by requisitions and statute-labour imposed on the peasants of the neighborhood.

The produce of the farming serves for the consumption of the court; the surplus is distributed to religious mendicants.

Agriculture[20], the professions and the trade of Nepal are entirely in the hands of the Nevars. No Gurkha cultivates; there is not a Nevar who does not cultivate. Besides the rural class of the Jyapus, the craftsmen and the merchants domiciled in the town, have all a morsel of land which they personally cultivate. The taste of the Nevars for culivation; combined with the needs of a remarkably dense population, has derived a magnificent profit from the natural resources of the valley. The indigenes partition of the lands for cultivation into two categories, altogether independent of the wealth proper of the soil: the first includes all the lands in proximity of a river or water-course, and consequently certain to be flooded in the rainy season and capable of being irrigated in the dry weather; the second comprises lands that do not offer by virtue of their position the same security or commodity. The streams that flow down the mountain sides are harnessed in all the stages of their course and made to distribute their waters into the small irrigation canals. Thanks to this stystem, the cultivation of rice which is pre-eminently 'the cultivation of the country, was able to ascend the slopes; the heights which are visible at the end of the valley present the aspect of an enormous amphitheatre hewn in even tiers. The patience and ingenuity of the inhabitants, have increased the terraces lined with little accumulations of earth and beaten down to retain the precious waters. From the first centuries of the Nepalese history, the inscriptions show the development of irrigation canals ('tilamaka') regulated by royal charts A later inscription dated in the XVIIth. century., in the reign of Jitamitra Malla, is work mentioning on account of the correctness of informations; the text is inserted therein in the Buddhistic Vamshavali: "The inspectors of the canals do not honestly distribute the water to the people, and this is the reason which justifies the present action taken. At the time the rice is sown, the people must make an irrigation canal and whosoever works on it, must after a day's labour come and claim a royal attestation, which will entitle him to receive water. Whosoever cannot produce this attestation will be punished with a maximum fine of 8 dams (1-1/2 anna). The inspectors should not levy dues to enable water to be taken from the canal but each one must receive his share in his turn. If the inspectors do not allow each one to take water in his turn, the inspector-in-chief will be punished with a fine of six mohars". The procedure of distribution varies; sometimes the irrigation commences with the field nearest the watercourse; sometimes, each one by turn, has water at his disposal for a certain determined number of hours. A similar rotation is carried out with the canals disposed alongside the same water-

course, at different altitudes, if the delivery is not sufficient to feed simultaneously a great number of takings.

The abundance of water adds again to the inexhaustible wealth of an alluvious soil and which yields ordinarily three harvests a year: barley, wheat or mustard in winter; radish, garlic or potatoes in spring, rice or maize in the rainy seasons. And yet the Nevar has no available manure (excepting the human dejections and certain silicious earths) to manure the fields.

The exigencies of tillage keeps the cattle outside the valley, either, in the Alps of the high country, breeding is curtailed to ducks which the Nevars look after with tenderness, like (they would) the auxiliary and the purveyor; each day they (ducks) are carried in baskets into the fields to be fed on the worms from the slush, and in the evening they are brought back home. Besides, their eggs are very much appreciated by the connoisseurs and are worth almost double the value of hens' eggs. The only cattle met with freely in the valley consist of sacred cows let loose by pious Hindus. To set free a bull is known as a very meritorious act and a source of benedictions. The Gurkha law forbids the killing of these cows under penalty of death, or even to strike them under penalty of grave chastisements. They wander through the fields, graze where they please and the Brahmans teach that their visit is a signal favour. The poor Nevar who dreads them defends his harvests by a fence of reed-grass which opposes a very frail barrier to the divine marauder.

The agricultural material of the Nevars is fairly rudimentary; the essential elements are a kind of hoe which takes the place of the pickaxe the spade and even of the plough (because the Nevar does not plough, he works with the hands all the works;- and the double basket suspended at the extermities of a perch which rests on the shoulder like the two scales to the beam of a balance, and which the Nevar utilizes in every case.

The principal cultivations of the valley are: at first rice in numerous varieties, from the transplanted rice to the rice of the high plateaus which require neither heat nor humidity; the wheat, mainly cnltivated in view of the distillation of alcohol; the maize or Indian wheat and the 'murva' (kind of millet) which the growing dearness of life has introduced in the usual alimentation the various kinds of farinaceous foods: 'urid, 'mas', etc.; the 'phofur' (black wheat); mustard, for the oil that is extracted from it, as well as the sesamum, garlic and radish which are the bread of the Nevar. In Nepal, the air smells the garlic; one eats it raw, cooked, in condiment, as preserves in oil, vinegar or sal. The radish is not less indispensable or less variedly treated; special method of preservation, by fermentation in the soil changes it into 'sinki', the most offensive smelling treat that humanity enjoys. Lastly the sugar-cane, and a delicious variety of fruits, beginning with those of India; pineapple, banana, jack-fruit, etc. ending with those of Europe: oranges, citrous apples, etc. The agricultural year is divided into five seasons: three and half months of winter, beginning from the 15th. November; two months of spring, beginning

from the 1st. of March; one month and a half of summer, beginning from the 1st. of May; 3 months of rain, beginning from the 15th of June; 2 months of Autumn beginning from the 15th of September.

As workmen, the Nevars excel in the wood, bronze and goldsmith's trade. The Chinese travellers admired the chasings and carvings of the country as early as the VIIth. century. The Mallas, artists by instinct and tradition at the same time, indefatigable builders, encouraged and maintained the national arts; the indifferent Gurkhas allow these to fall in decay. The ancient darbars and temples, even the houses of ordinary individuals, spread before the eyes, the marvels of taste and imagination, where the many influences of India, Tibet, and China are mixed and blend in a harmonious creation. The gold door of the darbar at Bhatgaon, the door of Changu Narayan are real-master-pieces. The Nevars are also very dexterous in melting bells; one of these is shown in Bhatgaon measuring five feet in diameter. Kathmandu also, has her monumental bell. Nepal still manufactures a great number of idols, both Buddhistic, and Brahmanic, which are spread in the North and South of the Himalayas. Owing to their skill in working metal, the Nepalese workmen are eagerly sought for in the Tibetan world. Father Andrada found in 1626, Nepalese goldsmiths in the service of the king of Chapraangue, in Tibet[21]. In the middle of the XIXth. century, Father Huc found a great number of Nevars settled in Lhasa. He describes them under the name of 'Pe-boun' which applies better to the people, Bhuttan, but the description he traces, sparkling with rapture and life, does not premit of any hesitation[22].

Painting was studied with success in Nepal. Taranatha, in his classification of Hindu Schools, distinguishes a Nepalese school of painting and a smelting house. The ancient school was connected to the art of the North-West of India the following school rather resembled to the Eastern School. The posterior schools have no special character[23]. M. Foucher has confirmed by the delicate analysis of the miniatures of two Nepalese manuscripts the correctness of the appreciations of Taranatha[24].

The paper which bear the name of Nepalese and which has for principal market Kathmandu, is not a production of the valley itself; it is manufactured in the more Northern region of the Kingdom, in the heart of the forests where the shrubs (daphne) are found, the bark of which is used in the manufacture[25].

The trade of Nepal does not owe its importance to its local market, very much restricted, but to the geographical position of the country which lies on the only direct road of exchanges between India on the one hand and Tibet and China on the other.

As early as the VIIth. century, in the days of the king Sroung-tsan gampo and of his first successors, the pilgirms and the Chinese ambassadors had recognized and explored the road. The persistent anarchy in Nepal and in Tibet closed it afterward for a long time. In the middle of the

XVIth. century, the king Mahindra Malla of Kathmandu seem to have renewed the relations between the two countries; he obtained the privilege of providing Tibet with coined silver. In the beginning of the XVIIth. century, the minister of the king Laksmi Narasimha Malla, Bhima Malla established a regular traffic; he proceeded to Lhasa in person and established thither a Nevar colony. The Mallas encouraged these exchanges which profited and benefited their treasury, but the confused times that preceded the Gurkha occupation and the brutal distrust of the new masters stopped the commerce. The traffickers who resided in the three capitals hastened to pack off. Prithivi Narayan vainly attempted diplomacy and intimidation to preserve the customers of Tibet for his money. The negotiations, dragged in length, ended up in 1792, during the minority of Rana Bahadur, with war against Tibet and China.

Already the British entered the lists. The company, undisputed mistress of the trade of Hindustan ever since the ruin of French competition, began to interest herself in the vast, almost unexplored regions which spread to the North of Himalaya and prepared herself to dispute them from the Russian traffickers. Kirkpatrick's mission, in 1792, had for principal object the opening of commercial intercourse and trade between British India and Tibet, by the road through Nepal and Kirkparick, with his conscience and habitual exactitude, drew up a detail list of articles imported or exported on either side. But the stubborn distrust of the Gurkhas condemned this statistical work to a fruitless issue. Ten years later, Hamilton observed the lamentable decay of the Nepalese commerce due to the faults of the Government, to the absolute lack of credit, to the feebleness of the law and the insincerity of the nation; he draw up in his turn a list of articles exchangeable which only pertained to the past. The long dictatorship of Bhim Sen gave back to Nepal order and prosperity. From 1816 to 1831, according to the testimony of indigenous merchants, the Nepalese commerce had trebled. The dearness of the cost of life of Nepal at the same period confirms the enriching of the country. Between 1792 and 1816, one obtained 25 pathis (84 kilograms) of rice for one rupee; from 1832 to 1835 only 5 pathis (17 kilograms); the price of rice had increased fivefold in this short space of time. The value of ordinary grains: maize, millet, had almost increased tenfold : 1 rupee for 4 muris (290 kilograms) of maize or Indian wheat in 1792–1816; 1 rupee for 9 pathis (30 kilograms) in 1832–35. The value of silver, in comparison with that of copper. Shows a dimunition of 10% between 1816 and 1832.

At that very period, Hodgson increased his efforts to swell the commercial swing between India, Nepal and Tibet; he thereby served at the same time the interests of the British mother-land and those of Nepal whom he loved as another mother-land. He hoped that Nepal, enriched by her trade, would renounce her ambitions of brutal conquests and take up again the peaceful and prosperous traditions of the Mallas. At the same time, the Russian trader would be set aside from those regions where his influence constituted a danger and a menace. Hodgson condensed the

informations he had officially gathered from the merchants of Kathmandu, into a report addressed to the Political Secretary in 1831 and which was published in 1857. To make the reading easy and possible to the indigenous merchants of Calcutta, whom he wanted to incorporate with the commercial relations of Nepal, Hodgson had with set purpose given his memoir a practical and popular style; He hoped to publish it in a great review to communicate to the public his personal confidence in the future of Nepalese commerce. He drew up in it a methodical comparison between the itinerary which offered itself to the goods of England and India, indicated the precautions to be taken, the nature and quality of the articles to be offered for sale and especially their distribution in packages of fixed weight, capable of being carried directly through the rough passes of the Himalaya on the vigorous backs of Tibetan carriers. Lastly, he had added a complete list of goods which had passed through Nepal in 1830-1831, including both sides of the traffic with the prices of purchase and sale. In order to appreciate the merit of this work, one must remember that Hodgson must have undertaken this investigation on his own resources, without the help of the Nepalese government. The outcome was remarkable. In 1831, the total of the importations and exportations of Nepal reached the sum of 3 millions of rupees; in 1891, the trade of Nepal with British India alone, excluding Tibet, reached 33 millions of rupees.

The trade with India is carried out at markets all along the frontier. The Nepalese government, indifferent to the economical questions of free-exchange or of protection, demands from the Customs a sum for the treasury; the government then receives on all articles a duty in proportion to their practical value; objects of luxury pay dearly, those of first necessity pay little.

At each market and on each of the roads opened for trade is established a Customs post. Sometimes these are rented out by auction. The duties levied vary from market to market, but in persuance of a recognized and authentic tariff. On the road to Kathmandu, a certain number of articles pay a duty of 5% 'ad valorem'; but in general the goods pay by their weight, cost, or number, according to their nature.

The principal articles of exportation of Nepal are rice, ordinary grains (millet, etc.), oleaginous (oily) grains, 'ghi' (clarified butter), poneys, cattle, hunting falcons (hawks), aviary mainas, timber, opium, musk, borax, turpentine, catechu, jute, hides and furs, dried ginger, cinnamon bark, chillies, saffron, and chauris (fly-flap in yak's tail).

The principal articles of importation are: cotton (raw), weaved cotton, cotton cloth, woollen goods, shawls and blankets, flannel, silk, brocade, embroidery, sugar, spices, indigo, tobacco, areca nut, vermilion, oils, salt, buffaloes, sheep, he-goats, copper, glass-ware, mirrors, precious stones, rifles and gun power.

In this traffic of goods, the portion of importations and of exportations can

not be correctly determined, however considerable it may be thought to be. Nothing further has been added, after 70 years, to the indications gathered by Hodgson; and yet the trade between Nepal and Tibet must have increased considerably since the treaty of 1856 has given Nepal the right to entertain a resident ('vakil') at Lhasa and has defined the legal situation of the Nepalese traders in Tibet in 1875, according to Wright, Lhasa, with a total population of about 15000 souls, included3000 Nepalese. The Customs duties on goods going to and coming from Tibet are received directly by the Government, and not leased out. Each bearer's burden, whatever its nature, is subject to a fixed tax of one rupee, received by the Mint at Kathmandu; the bearer receives in return a passport which exempts him from all further tax upto the Tibetan frontier.

The principal exportations of Nepal to Tibet are: the European textures, cutlery, pearls, corals, diamonds, Emeralds, indigo and opium. The principal importations of Tibet to Nepal are: precious metals, musk, the 'chauris' (yak's tail) Chinese silks, furs, borax, tea and drugs.

The principal profit that the Government of Nepal derives from the trade with Tibet is from precious metals. Gold or silver on reaching the frontier is weighed; the weight duly registered, is communicated to the authorities of the capital. The merchant must then take his 'cargo' (goods) to the mint, where it is estimated according to the official tariff and paid to the importer in Nepalese rupees. The gold is then re-sold by the administration at a price almost double that of purchase. Regarding silver, it can not come out of Nepal except when coined, in species; this compulsory conversion guarantees the government a regular and considerable profit. The Anglo-Indian rupees introduced in Nepal cannot come out again, in spite of the frequent representations of the Viceroy's Government. They are converted into Nepalese rupees; viz., instead of being worth 16 annas, they are only worth 13 annas in exchange.

The Nepalese rupee is only besides, a unit of reckoning; The Mint only stamps half-rupees (mohar) of a value of 6 annas 8 pies of the Anglo-India money. The sub-divisions of the rupee are, in Nepal, the anna, 1/16 of the double mohar; the pie, 1/4 anna; the dam, 1/4 pie.

The copper coins vary with the localities; the pie or of Butwal of Gorakhpur is worth 1/75 of an Anglo-Indian rupee; the pie of Lohiya is only worth 1/107; one and the other are sqaure and roughly made. The pie in Kathmandu is round, made by machine, well stamped at the corners and worth 1/117 of an Anglo-Indian rupee.

According to 'Hamilton' (p. 233), in 1802, 'the ordinary salary of a day-labourer in Kathmandu is 2 annas. The merchants pay 3 mohars for each bearer of goods from Hetaura and 5 mohars from Gaur Parasa. The bearer takes three days from Hetaura and 5 from Gaur Parasa; but he must return without goods; thus the salary is 4 annas per day. For a 'dandi' (mountain chair) from Kathmandu

to Gaur Parasa, the merchants pay 24 mohars. The carpenters and blacksmiths receive 3 annas daily, the brick-makers 2-1/2 annas; the goldsmiths have a right to 4 annas for two mohars of gold worked on (taken by weight); for silver they receive the 1/16 of the value of the metal; for copper they receive from 1 to 2 mohars per dharni according to the work."

'Campbell' has given in his "Notes on Agriculture" the list of a few salaries and of a certain number of articles towards 1837.

Per month of 30 days, in Anglo-Indian rupees (equivalent 2 fr. 50.):

Carpenters	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p. (3 r. 8. a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p. (2 r. 2. a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.
Plasterers	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p
Blacksmiths	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p (2 r. 3 a. $5\frac{1}{2}$ p
Painters (dyers ?)	(4 r. 12 a. $6\frac{1}{2}$ p (4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p
Brick-makers	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p
Silversmiths	(4 r. 11 a. $6\frac{1}{2}$ p (4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p
Tailors	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p (2 r. 3 a. $5\frac{1}{2}$ p
Field Labourers	(4 r. 2 a. $2\frac{1}{2}$ p (3 r. 8 a. $6\frac{1}{4}$ p (2 r. 3 a. $5\frac{1}{2}$ p

The scale of prices corresponds to the nature of the work. Servants: Kitmutgar (orderly) 3 r. 4 a. 7-1/2 p.– Gardener in Chief (principal); 2 r. 3 a. 8. p. ; assistant; 1 r. 15 a. 9 p; sweeper: 2 rupees.

Provisions and various domestic articles: chickens 6 for 1 rupee, ducks, 3 for 1 rupee, hen's eggs, 100 for the rupee, duck's eggs, 60 for the rupee. Sheep one for 3 rupees; he-goats, 12 rupees apiece; oxen, from 4 to 36 rupees apiece; cows, from 6 to 12 rupees each; bulls, from 4 to 10 rupees each, Male slaves, adults; 80 rupees; children, 40 rupees. Female slaves, adults, 100 rupees; children, 50 rupees.

I have given above (p 310) the price of a few cereals.

To be continude

FOOT NOTES

1. The date, as given, is certainly incro rect, as well for 1481 caka present as- for caka lapsed.

2. Tod (Annals of Rajasthan), mentioned by Vansittart, P. 84

3. See the references gathered by Madam Mabel Duff, 'Chronology of India'; Westminster, 1899, P. 205 and 206.

4. Hamilton, P. 130 sq.

5. Hodgson mentions this anecdote as authentic: 'Languages and Literature of Nepal', part. 11, p. 38.

6. Manava-dh.-c. x, 22-key also 'Harivamsha', XIV, 784; XCV, 6440.

7. According to Ucanas, mentioned by the commentator Govardhana, the khasas are carriers of water and distributors of the same to the fountains. (Man. dh. c., transl. Buhler, 'loc. land., note).

8. The Maha-Bharata frequently mentions the khasas, and always in the company of mountainous people of the North-West. Thus. 11,51,V.1858: 'Maru-Mandarayor...., etc.

The Khasas live between Mount Meru and Mount Maudara towards the river Cailoda, otherwise said in the heart of the mountains of Hindu kouch and Pamir: they bring with the neighbouring tribes a tribute in "ant's gold", extracted from the soil by the ants. In the book VII, 121, see 4845 they are named with the Daradas (Dardistan), Lampaka (Lamghan), Pulindas; in the VIIIth, 44, see 2070, with the Prasthalas, Madras, Gandharas, Arattas, Vasatis, Sindhusanvira13.- key also Markandeya-Pur. LXII, 57. LVIII, 7. Bharata, in his Natya-shastra mentions them by the side of the Bahlikas (Balkh)

"Bahlikabhasodicyanam.., etc. XVII. 52,

The Vibhasa-shastra only known in its Chinese version (due to Samghabhuti, in 383 J. C.) mentions the language of the 'khasas' with that of the To-le-Mo-le, Po-le, Po k' ia-li in a passage (Jap. ed., XX, 9, 59a) which I have already made known (Notes on the Indo-Scythes, P. 50, n.): the To-le-are the Daradas; the Po-le, the Paradas; Mo-le probably a Maladas origin and Po-k' ia-li answers to Bhukhari. The dictionary Fan-fan-yu' of which I posses a copy, reports an interpretation (section VIII) which trans-

lates khasa (k'ia-cha') by "incorrect language". This explanation seems to be connected with an analogous etymology with the one in use to-day and which pretends to derive the name of khas from 'khasnu' to fall, to decay.

I remember that several attempts were made to establish a comparison between the name of the khas and the one of Kashgar, interpreted by the Iranian Khasa-gairi "Mount of the Khas" (key the Casii moutes from Prolemee) or Khasagara" resort of the khas". Hiouen-tsang gives k'ia-cha (-khasa) as another name for Kachgar.

Lastly, the Khas are often mentioned in the Rajatarangini. Key the very old note of Troyer, vol II, p. 321 and that of stein, II,430: they make an appearance in the history of Cashmere only as "mountaineers who were marauders and turbulent" (stein).

An epigraphic document dated from the year 629 of J. C. (380 of the Kalacuri era, donation of the king Gurjara Dadda II Pracanta raga, found at Kheda) proves that in the VIIth. century the khasas were known to inhabit in the surroundings of the Himalayas. "The king resembled to the Himacala because he was the continuance of the Vidyadharas (or, of the savants), but he had not like him, a circle of khasas (degraded)" (Yac copamiyate...., Ind. Antig. XIII, 83) The same passage is repeated in a donation of the same king, posterior by five years to the first (ib, 89).

9. 'Manu', x, 12 and 16 defines the ksattris as children born of a Shudra with a ksatriya woman; their profession is to entrap and kill the animals that live in holes. (ib. 49.).

10. Hamilton, P. 131.

11. Wright, 172.-The second last Newar king of Kathmandu, Jagajjaya Malla, had in his employment khas soldiers, who were instrumental in the fall of the dynasty (wright, 222 sq).- The Vamc. designates (P. 150) Nepal as "the kas country" under the reign of Narendra Deva, the Thakuri, since the VIIth. century: But no conclusion could be derived (as wrongly does Vansittart) P. 82) from a simple literary perlphrase employed in the account of an ancient event by a modern author.

12. Kirkpatric, P. 264

13. Wright. P. 169

14. This language is also known by the name of Naipali, Gorkhiya or Gorkhali. Mr. Grierson (Classified list of Languages of India) classifies it in the group of dialects, Paharis or highland under the heading of the Oriental Pahari. It has been the object of a purely practical grammar: A. Turnbull. 'Nepali grammar and Eng'ish-Nepali and Nepali-English vocabulary' (about 4000 words)- Darjeeling 1888. Mr. Aug. Conrady, who has created the scientific study of Nevari, has published a drama in Naipali composed in the XVIIth. century and thus has inaugurated the historical study of that language: Das.., etc., Leipzig, 1891. I owe it to my young friend Bhuvan Sham Sher Jang, the despatch of a "Primer" in the

English method, recently published for the use of those Nepalese students who wish to study English, but also very convenient, inversely, to Europeans to get familiar with the Parbatiya: Gangadhar Shastri Dravid: 'English guide for the use of Nepali students'. Benares, 1901. It is in Benares, where lives a great number of exiles and Nepalese refugees, that are printed the studies destined to the Gurkha professors, to the Gorkhayantralaya, to the Bharata Jivan Press, to the Hitacintaka yantralaya, etc. Most of the publications are translations: Ramayana, Virataparvan of the Maha Bharata, Bhagavata, Canakya, Caurapancacika. I also mention a collection of proverbs: Ukhan Ko Bakhan Ra Jannekatha Ko Samgraha (Bharata Jivana Press, 1951 Samvat.).

15. Key John Beames, on the Magar language of Nepal', in 'Journal Roy. Asiat. Soc new. ser., t. IV, P. 178 sqq.
16. W. H. Hunter, 'Life of B. H. Hodgson,' P. 259 (wherein is to be found a note on the development of the Gurkha regiments in the Anglo-Indian army established according to official notes).
17. Especially according to Hodgson: 'Some account of the systems of law and police as recognized in the state of Nepal appeared at first in the 'Selections from the Records of Bengal, No. XI, republished in the 'Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects, vol. II' (Trubners Oriental series, 1880), P. 211-250).
18. The list of Kirkpatrick is different: 'Gohatya'; 'strehatya'; atma hatya, "Personal mutilation with magical intention"; para hatya "mutilation of another", 'toona' or 'kool', black magic, devilry"--Wright's munshi gives P. 189, No. 1, a list similar to that of Hodgson but classed in a different order: 'brahma' 'stri' 'bala' 'sagotra' 'go'. The fourth, murder of a person of the same clan, holds the place of patki of Hodgson.
19. Reduced later to 20 ropnis in the valley of Nepal. Campbell, 'Notes.... P. 75).
20. On agriculture in Nepal, the fundamental document is always: A. Campbell, Notes on the Agricultural... January 1st. 1837. Published in the Transactions etc., Campbell was the assistant of Hodgson, this fine work comes out in some way from the Hodgson school.
21. See sup., p. 79
22. Huc, 11,262 sqq. "Among the strangers who constitute the fixed population of Lha-Sha, the Pe-boun are the most numerous. They are Indians come from the side of Bhuttan beyond the Himalayan mountains. They are short, vigorous, and of a vivacious demeanour; They have rounder faces than the Tibetans; their complexionis very swarthy, their eyes are small, dark and cunning; they place a poppy-coloured spot on the forehead which they renew every morning. They are always dressed with a skirt of violet 'poulon' and with a little fur cap of the same hue, but just a little deeper in shade. When they go out, they carry with the costume a long red shawl which goes twice round the neck, like a big collar and the two ends of which are thrown over the shoulders.

The Pe-boun are the only metallurgists of Lha-Sha. It is in their quarter

that black-smiths must be searched for, also coppersmiths, plumbers, tinmen or silverers, smelters, goldsmiths, jewellers, mechanics, even physicians and chemists. Their workshops and their loboratories are slightly underground. One enters in them by a low and narrow opening, and three or four steps have to be descended before reaching thither. On all the doors of their houses, one sees a painting representing a red glove and above it a white crescent. Evidently these represent the Sun and Moon. But what do these allude to ? This is what we have forgotten to enquire upon.

One meets among the Pe-boun, very distinguished artists in matters of metallurgy. They manufacture vases for the benefit of lamaseries and jewels of all kinds which would certainly not dishonour European artists. Those are the men who manufacture the beautiful golden plates for the roofings of the Buddhistic temples which plates resist all the inclemencies of the seasons and preserve always a freshness and a marvellous lustre. They are so dexterous in this nature of work that they are sought for from the ends of Tartary to ornament the great lamaseries. The Pe-boun are again the dyers of Lha-Sha. Their tints are bright and lasting, their cloths can wear away but never discolour. They are only allowed to dye the 'pou-lou'. The cloths that come from foreign countries must be used as they are; the government is absolutely opposed to the dyers exercising their trade on these cloths. It is probable that this prohibition has for object the promotion of the sale of cloths manufactured in Lha-Sha.

The Pe-bouin have an extremely jovial and childish nature; before retiring to rest, one sees them laughing and full of frolic; during working hours they never cease from singing. Their religion is the Indian Buddhism. Although they do not follow the reform of Tsong-Kaba, they are full of respect for the ceremonies and practice pertaining to lamaism. They never fail on days of great solemnity, to prostrate themselves at the feet of Buddha-La and offer their adorations to the Tale-Lama''.

23. Taranatha, p. 280

24. Foucher, 'Iconographic bouddhique', 34-39, 182, 184.

25. Hodgson has described the procedure of manufacture in a short article: 'On the Native method..., Hiadustan Nepalese, in (journ. As. Soc. Bengal, I; 'Trans. Agric. Soc. India, V re-printed in the Collection of the 'Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian subjects, vol. 11, p. 251-254.

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'प्राचीन नेपाल'का निमित्त प्राग्-इतिहास तथा पुरातत्व, लिपिविज्ञान, हस्तलिखित ग्रन्थ, मुद्राशास्त्र, अभिलेख, संग्रहालय तथा ललितकलासंग सम्बन्धित मौलिक रचनाको माग गरिन्छ ।

रचना संक्षिप्त तर प्रामाणिक हुनुका साथै अद्यापि अप्रकाशित हुनु पर्दछ । तर कुनै प्रकाशित विषयका सम्बन्धमा नयाँ सिद्धान्त र प्रमाण प्रस्तुत गरिएको भए तिनको स्वागत गरिने छ ।

रचनासंग सम्बन्धित चित्रहरू पठाउन सकिने छ । रचना पृष्ठको अग्रभागमा मात्र लेखिएको हुनु पर्नेछ । प्रकाशित लेखहरूमा व्यक्त गरिएको भावना वा मत सम्बन्धित लेखकको हो ।

महानिर्देशक
पुरातत्व विभाग
रामशाहपथ
काठमाडौं, नेपाल

Contribution of original nature dealing with pre-historic and field-archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts, numismatics, archives, art and architecture of Nepal and museum and other techniques connected with various aspects of our work are invited to 'Ancient Nepal'.

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